

# IN THESE TIMES

Reuben Einstein  
★ Awards ★



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40 Cents

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

## The 1977 Reuben Einstein Awards

Reuben Einstein showed that people could change.

The richest man in Blairsville, Pennsylvania, Einstein nevertheless became a socialist through perceiving capitalism's inequalities.

But because he was a rich man, Einstein's belief was always viewed skeptically. When he ran unsuccessfully for mayor on the Socialist party ticket in 1917, he was attacked for being a parasite on the working class. In a newspaper ad, Einstein responded that "the actual difference between me and other parasites is that they want to stay on your backs and continue to live off you, while I am willing to get entirely off your backs as soon as you have enough sense to keep others off." But Einstein added that until then "I refuse to join your ranks and starve."

Confounded by his lack of credibility, Einstein stipulated in his will that each year his heirs should meet and give a Reuben Einstein award to political leaders who made significant positive changes in their outlook. Preference was to be given to persons over 40, since, as Einstein remarked, "for the young, change is the rule."

I am reprinting the selection committee's choices for 1977.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Reuben Einstein Awards for 1977 go to George Meany, Betty Friedan, and Vernon Jordan. The changes in their outlooks during 1977 reflected—and helped precipitate—significant changes in American politics.

The groups they represent—the labor, women's, and black movements—were formerly divided within themselves and from each other. Increasingly embattled in an America of continued recession and austerity, these groups are now uniting within themselves and with each other against the corporate consensus. Out of their unity may come a political coalition on the left in which an American socialism can take root.

As leaders, Meany, Friedan, and Jordan are no Eugene Debses. They may not even be Reuben Einsteins. [The Committee probably means they are not even socialists.] But as leaders of age and stature in movements that do not yet have a socialist leadership, they were able to bend and not break under the winds of change, and to point their constituencies in a new and positive direction.



**George Meany, 83, president of the AFL-CIO.**

George Meany, who became AFL head in 1952 and then AFL-CIO head when they merged three years later, made his mark as an enemy of corruption and communism. He used to boast that while a plumber he had never been on a picket line. In 1972, he let Richard Nixon win reelection rather than unite his labor block with George McGovern's antiwar, anti-machine, liberal, feminist, environmentalist, and minority constituencies. This year, Meany helped form Jimmy Carter's blue-ribbon labor-management committee, and he led the U.S. out of the International Labor Organization.

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But in 1977, Meany also showed a surprising ability to change. With the AFL-CIO's membership down 500,000 in the last two years—the result of the world's recession, runaway shops, and labor's passivity—and with its clout in Congress on the wane, Meany reintroduced "organizing" into the federation's vocabulary, even setting up a special department to spearhead a new organizing drive; he threw the federation's resources behind the J.P. Stevens boycott; he went on the warpath against the multinationals and corporate free-traders; and, perhaps most significant of all, he made peace with the McGovern constituencies and sought to bring them together in a new political coalition that would not only fight for labor law reform, the minimum wage, and full employment, but also for the ERA, aid to the cities, and an end to racial discrimination.

In his keynote speech to the AFL-CIO convention in Los Angeles last month, Meany stressed the potential of this new coalition: "No group—not the labor movement, not the civil rights and women's organizations, not the churches—can by themselves match the raw political and financial might of big business. But, together, these groups represent millions of people, and people, not money, are what this nation is all about."

Earlier, Meany had astounded a Coalition of Labor Union Women meeting by describing himself as a "closet feminist." At Los Angeles, he emphasized the need for "all of us, once again, to stand together."

Jane Melnick



**Betty Friedan, 56, author, founder of NOW.**

In the early '60s, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* helped spark the rebirth of American feminism. In 1966, Friedan helped found NOW.

But by the '70s, Friedan and the women's movement found themselves embattled. Friedan and her allies in NOW thought making lesbian rights an issue would only make it more difficult to organize for the ERA. In 1975, after several key ERA defeats, Friedan organized Womensurge, an informal caucus within NOW that would provide an alternative both to the leadership's espousal of lesbian rights and its "revolutionary" rhetoric.

At the International Women's Year Conference in Houston last November, Betty Friedan changed her position. Faced with a resolution of lesbian rights, Friedan decided to speak for it in order to counter the "hate and fear against homosexuals" the right used to "cloak their real economic and political objections to ERA."

Writing of her experience in the *New Republic*, Friedan said, "It suddenly seemed to me that if the black women and chicanas, who once saw feminism as a white racist tool, could move out of their defensive hangups, why couldn't I?"

Friedan's speech was short and to the point. "I am considered to be violently opposed to the lesbian issue in the women's movement, and I have been. This issue has been used to divide us and disrupt us and has been

seized on by our enemies to try and turn back the whole women's movement for equality and alienate our support. As a woman of middle age who grew up in middle America—in Peoria, Illinois—and who has loved men maybe too well, I have personal hangups on the issue... But now we must all transcend our previous differences to devote our full energies to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified, or we will lose all we have gained. Since, contrary to the lies of the John Birchers, we know that the ERA will do nothing whatsoever for homosexuals, we must support the separate civil rights of our lesbian sisters."

Friedan's statement healed old wounds and made possible a new unity in the women's movement.



Bob Gumpert

**Vernon Jordan, 42, executive director of the Urban League.**

When Atlanta lawyer Vernon Jordan became head of the Urban League in 1972, he assured its members that the "civil rights movement of the '70s would not be a headline grabbing thing." Later that year, Jordan reported that while the League disagreed with the Nixon administration on some issues, it had been able to "continue a creative partnership." Jordan promised to keep the League within the integrationist moderate wing of the civil rights movement, which had split in the mid-'60s under the impact of black nationalism and anti-capitalism.

As part of the Atlanta black leadership behind Carter's presidential candidacy, Jordan had been expected to keep the black community solidly behind the new president. But Jordan surprised Carter.

At the Urban League's July meeting in Washington, Jordan declared that as far as black people were concerned, "the list of what the administration has not done far exceeds its list of accomplishments." Jordan called for a full employment program and for a domestic Marshall Plan for America's cities.

In August, Jordan was the principal mover behind the first national meeting of black leaders since 1963, which was called to "counterattack on the callous neglect of blacks, the poor and America's cities." The August meeting, and Jordan's earlier attack, forced Carter to reopen negotiations with labor and black representatives on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

When a compromise Humphrey-Hawkins bill emerged in November, with the promise of 4 percent unemployment made dependent on curbing inflation, Jordan struck again. "It is unjust to impose on the poor and on minorities the burden of achieving price stability in this country," he told the *New York Times*.

Jordan had come a long way from his "creative partnership" with Nixon. He was bringing the black movement face to face with the failings of its corporate allies, and the limitations of the present economic system to provide full employment and a healthy, safe, and comfortable urban environment.

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# Showdown in Cleveland

Only weeks into office Cleveland's new mayor has taken on the city's police department. His first act was to appoint former San Francisco Sheriff Richard Hongisto chief.

By Dan Marschall  
Staff Writer

**C**LEVELAND—Only weeks after taking office, Dennis Kucinich, the 31-year-old mayor of this major industrial city, has apparently set out to tame one of its most potent "special interests"—the police department.

His task will be far from easy. The police have grown into an influential, independent force in city politics during the last decade. Kucinich, on the other hand, is hampered by the combined hostilities of the city council, the Democratic party and the area's business establishment. He has already undergone a series of political crises that may have undermined public confidence in his administration.

His success in reforming the police by making them more responsive to community needs will therefore be a key indication of whether he can fulfill his pledge to make Cleveland the "center of progressive politics for the whole country."

"The police have not been enforcing the law," Kucinich charged in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*. "Because the police have been non-responsive and have lacked a demonstrable passion for the plight of Clevelanders, they have lost their credibility. Their lack of concern is manifested in slow response, in contemptuous treatment of complainants, and in the violation of the civil rights of offenders."

## Hongisto appointment.

Kucinich opened his police campaign Dec. 15 with the appointment of Richard Hongisto, the controversial former sheriff of San Francisco, as the new police chief. The police reacted with shock, since they considered Hongisto a suspicious outsider, while the media questioned his support for gay rights and his reputation as the country's most radical law enforcement administrator. (*ITT*, March 9, 1977.)

The mayor defends the selection by citing Hongisto's impressive record of police reform and his capacity to take a fresh look at departmental problems. "Hongisto has demonstrated his commitment to human rights as well as his activist approach to harnessing the power of the police into a force for social action. He is not hampered by the alliances of the past and will not be restrained by powerful cliques in the department," Kucinich explains.

The continued strength of those "cliques," however, rapidly became evident. Hours after Hongisto was sworn in, members of the Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association, engaged in contract talks with the city, charged that the administration was not bargaining in good faith and protested by calling in sick *en masse*. The "blue flu" epidemic infected 90 percent of the department's uniformed officers, but did not markedly decrease police protection on the streets.

Kucinich, responding with characteristic brashness, denounced the striking police as bullies, bigots and cry-babies who had callously deserted Clevelanders. The key issue, he said, was civilian control over a longtime independent police force. "I'm going to shake this police department from top to bottom and I'll use this strike to do it if they don't get back to work," Kucinich declared.

The walkout ended two days later and the youthful mayor chalked up his first victory in a battle that has only begun.



Cleveland Mayor Dennis Kucinich (left) cites Richard Hongisto's (right) record for reform and his ability to take a fresh look at departmental problems as reasons for his hiring.

To break the grip of the police department on city politics, Kucinich will have to contend with a legacy of racial antagonisms, which have plagued the city since the mid-'60s. Urban riots, a police fire-fight with black militants, and the political destruction of Carl Stokes, the city's first black mayor, gave the police unprecedented legitimacy in the eyes of city residents.

Stokes became Cleveland mayor in 1967. A year before, civic leaders had empaneled a special commission to study all aspects of city government. Their report included a severe indictment of the police department's sloppy organization, wasteful procedures and inattention to community relations.

Using the committee's recommendations as guidelines, Stokes attempted to reform the department by placing more officers on the street and improving minority representation. A prime problem, says a high-level Stokes administration official, was that over one-half of the 2000-member force was working on inside jobs, leaving the streets inadequately protected. "We intended to strip from the department all the functions, patched on by previous administrations, which were not protective in nature. Secretarial work and radio dispatching, for instance, could be handled more efficiently and at a lower cost by trained civilians," the official says.

To provide more protection for high-crime, high population areas, the administration transferred 280 men and created 25 new patrol zones. The police resisted these changes, however, and gradually undercut the entire Stokes administration.

"The police began feeding reporters stories about low morale, and insinuations of police problems began regularly appearing on the evening television news and in the newspapers. The public began to be concerned for their safety," Stokes wrote in his autobiography.

## Four years of battle.

The next four years witnessed continual public battles between Stokes and the department. Racial polarization height-

ened after the "Glenville incident," when black militants engaged in a shoot-out with police, leaving three officers dead. The implication was clear: Stokes' bold efforts to reform the police supposedly set the stage for rising violence in the black community.

Stokes appointed five different police chiefs, but none escaped the influence of a clique of senior officers who, Stokes says, actually control the department's internal affairs. When one police chief resigned, he charged that "the enemies of law enforcement continue to receive support and comfort from you [Stokes] and your administration."

In their fight with Stokes the police eventually won the support of the media and most of the city's white, ethnic population. In 1968 Clevelanders passed a referendum that granted the police even more independence by freeing them from regular contract negotiations with elected officials. The law provided that whenever a wage increase was granted to the police in any Ohio city with over 50,000 residents, the Cleveland police were entitled to an automatic raise of at least 3 percent higher.

In recent years, however, the public's attitude towards the police has turned to vocal resentment. The police have been unable to stop a tremendous rise in crime against property. Complaints have also increased about how long it takes patrolmen to respond to calls. Early in 1977 this dissatisfaction resulted in voters overturning the automatic pay raise by a two-to-one margin.

"Kucinich knows exactly what that vote shows," comments a local political analyst. "He seems to catch these waves of public sentiment. This one helped propel him into the mayor's seat. So when he blasts the police, he probably has the man on the street on his side."

## Chaos and disorganization.

But police reform will hinge more on Hongisto's actions than on Kucinich's tough talk. In an exclusive interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Hongisto was very cautious to not place primary blame on indi-

vidual police officers, but to focus instead on the department's structural and organizational deficiencies.

"The most common complaints are regarding response time and courtesy to the public," Hongisto says. "This suggests that the fundamental problem is a disinterest on the level of the patrolman. But at this point, I don't find a lot of evidence that policemen are deliberately responding slowly to calls. There are many other related problems."

The high turnover in top administrators—eight police chiefs have been appointed since 1963—has created "a lot of discontinuity and constant changes in policy," he says, that has contributed to the "extreme demoralization" of rank and file cops.

"Some areas of the department are so poorly designed and organized that they are relatively chaotic," he says. Patrol cars often have to travel across the district, for example, to get a tankful of gas because many of the stations don't have lead-free pumps. Since half the fleet is inoperative, assigning more officers to patrol duty would not actually get more cars on the street.

"To the extent that things like this are going on, which interfere with their ability to respond to calls, it's not really the patrolman's fault when he gets criticized for slow response time," Hongisto says.

He does concede, however, that compared to other large police departments, Cleveland appears to have officers in the administrative and investigative end that could be transferred to street duty.

His first major reform will probably be a reorganization of the police communications system that, he says, has been patched together over the years and is now in a highly inefficient condition.

Hongisto realizes that the department's problems are very tough and that the history of politicization will likely impede his efforts. His main test may come later this year when the city undergoes federally-ordered school desegregation. Considering Cleveland's ongoing racial tensions, he fears that a "Boston-like situation" is in the making.



## LABOR

# Iron range workers end strike

**By Phil Glende**  
DULUTH, MINN.—“A big victory for labor on the iron ore range” is how United Steelworkers of America District 33 director Linus Wampler describes the recently settled 138-day strike by 18,000 steelworkers in Minnesota and Michigan.

The longest strike in Northern Minnesota's Iron Range history ended Saturday, Dec. 16, when the rank and file from the 600-member Steelworkers local from Inland Steel Company in Virginia, Minn., ratified a three-year contract by a two-to-one margin.

Contract settlements were reached over a four-week period as each of the Steelworker locals worked out specific strike issues. Members of the four locals from Cleveland Cliffs Company in Upper Michigan and one in Northern Minnesota were back on the job at the iron ore and taconite mines and processing plants before the last week in November.

Strikers were seeking, among other important worksite issues, 100 percent parity with the incentive pay that production workers in the mills can earn. About 85 percent of the millworkers in the East receive incentive pay averaging about 80 cents an hour.

Contracts agreed upon here in the last month give iron range Steelworkers union members only about two-thirds of the incentive pay paid eastern millworkers, with from 75 to 80 percent of the workers covered as of November 1979. The contracts also provide an opportunity for all non-production workers to earn a 30 cents per hour attendance bonus pay.

“I'm very happy that we were able to establish the incentive that we started out to establish. It's been a long, hard battle and people have fought hard,” Wampler said on Dec. 15.

The contract provisions represent what the steel industry called its last, best offer. This general proposal was brought here early in November by Steelworkers International president Lloyd McBride, but was rejected by unanimous decision of union negotiators representing all 15 locals because it was reportedly vaguely worded and ignored local issues.

After slight revision and clarification and discussion of important worksite issues at the respective bargaining tables, the offers were submitted to the union rank and file and one by one locals ratified the pacts, usually by significant majorities.

One local at Eveleth, Minn., rejected on Nov. 25 the tentative agreement worked out by union negotiators but ratified an agreement offered two weeks later, after other Minnesota locals had accepted a slightly improved offer making a few more workers eligible for incentive pay, and settling some worksite issues.

The industry was accused of not bargaining in good faith. “Over the last 12 to 15 days they [U.S. Steel Company] finally found out they got a tough negotiating committee and a bunch of members that were going to hold out until they got all these issues resolved, and on the last 30 some issues, there were some 25 or 26 pretty good answers,” said Joe Samargia, president of the largest Minnesota Iron Range local after reaching a tentative agreement here Dec. 15.

Not all workers were called back to the job immediately after signing new contract agreements. At Reserve Mining Company's locals at Silver Bay and Babbitt only 200 out of 2,000 workers have been called back. Boat landing crews have started shipping Reserve's taconite pellet stockpile on Lake Superior and maintenance crews have begun overhauling pelletizing equipment that was idle for more than four months.

At Aurora-Hoyt Lakes, Minn., nearly 1,800 of a total 2,000 USWA members were laid off within 15 minutes after signing a new three-year contract with Erie Mining Company. A company spokesman said the layoff will last at least



Striking workers received support from all over the country in their 138-day strike. Left, Joe Samargia, president of the largest Minnesota Iron Range local and a militant strike leader.



## Despite the official ending of the strike, not all the workers have been called back as the companies slowly begin to produce.

satisfied with the international leadership, and the strike was seen, in part, as a challenge to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that prohibits strikes for wages.

Some union leaders here say they found that the ENA was used by the industry to avoid discussing worksite issues by challenging the right of locals to ask for incentive pay. But they add that since big steel was forced to grant most iron ore and taconite workers incentive pay, the industry conceded an important negotiating point for future contract talks.

Union leaders acknowledge only a partial victory in the areas of incentive pay, worksite issues and ENA. “I'll never be satisfied until we win 100 percent, and I guess that's going to be a fight for

another day,” local president Lee Smargia said.

“I have nothing but praise for the negotiating committee and the people who stood behind them all these months in order to gain what they started out for,” said district director Linus Wampler. Local president Joe Smilanich voiced the sentiment of most steelworkers when he said, “We couldn't have done it without the solidarity” amongst the steelworkers and their families.

The steel industry has had no comment on the strike, but a representative of an industry supplier here called the end of the long strike a “welcome sight” and “a great boost in the arm” for the area that is so economically dependent on mining. *Phil Glende is a reporter in Duluth, Minn.*

## Poor settlement in Indiana strike

by David Moberg  
Staff writer

**A**fter 8½ months of fighting scabs and gun-wielding security guards, workers on strike at the Essex Corporation plant in Elwood, Ind., returned to work with a contract that gave them no more money than the original company offer last spring. (ITT, Nov. 9-15) Pressured into a quick vote on the morning of Dec. 21, following a late-night negotiating session, members of UAW Local 1663 voted 77 to 40 to end their strike. It was a tearful meeting as the auto parts assembly workers, many of them middle-aged women, heard their president describe the offer as “rotten” and criticize the international union for not giving their local sufficient support. Many of the 181 eligible

voters were not informed of the meeting, since it was called at short notice.

Over the course of three years workers' base pay, which is now \$2.76, will be increased by 61 cents. One cent was knocked off the original offer to pay for a \$2.50 a week increase in sick pay benefits, now only \$35. In an effort to win greater wages and benefits in early negotiations, the local had also given up some of its controls over the workplace.

The estimated 120 strikebreakers brought in by Essex, a notoriously anti-union company, will keep their jobs. They do not have to join the union. Local 1663 leaders fear that the company will soon press for decertification of their union.

The contract promised that 68 of the original 222 strikers would be rehired

immediately, and a total of 110 within the first 90 days. The cases of workers fired during the strike will be discussed by a union-management committee, and if not resolved there they will be sent to an arbitrator picked by Essex.

Only eight of the strikers broke ranks and returned to work during the bitter, prolonged battle in Elwood. As time passed strikers grew angry with the international union, which vacillated on whether it would pay the fines of picketers arrested by the county sheriff and had tried for months to persuade the strikers to concede.

“I felt the international betrayed us,” strike spokesperson Georgia Ellis said. Despite her misgivings, she returned to work to carry on her fight and to try to preserve the union: “Our union is the only hope we've got.”



## ELECTORAL POLITICS

# Black Marxist wins in Detroit

By Jack Russell

**D**ETROIT—On Nov. 8, 1977, voters here elected a black Marxist to the nine person Detroit City Council.

Attorney Ken Cockrel received 166,643 votes and finished a strong seventh in a field of 18. Cockrel was first among non-incumbents and was the only candidate elected without DAW and Democratic party endorsements.

His election surprised most liberal/labor power brokers. For the next four years they will have to cope with an aggressive socialist presence in city government.

Cockrel has been a public figure in Detroit ever since he helped organize various plant-based left groups into the League of Revolutionary Black Workers following the 1967 black rebellion. He has become well known through a series of intensely political trials and his capacity to convey socialist analysis within the black community.

In seeking the city council seat, Cockrel did not retreat from his record. The campaign was not draped in red in the manner of most symbolic socialist candidacies, but Detroit voters were aware of Cockrel's politics.

In the weeks following the Cockrel victory one heard talk in the boardrooms and barrooms of Detroit that come 1981 or 1985, a socialist might run for—and win—the mayor's office in the nation's fifth largest city.

The Cockrel victory marks a new stage in the development of a movement that has been gathering strength over the past ten years here. (Readers interested in a narrative of the 1967-1973 period should consult Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin's *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*.)

Cockrel's legal work has been essential to this development. He has successfully defended the right to militant self-defense and made the criminal court a tribunal in which, while thousands watch, capitalism goes on trial.

In the "New Bethel" case of 1969, Cockrel won acquittal for members of the Republic of New Africa who had been involved in a fatal shootout with Detroit police.

He then challenged the jury selection process and proved systematic discrimination against blacks, women, youth and working people generally. Thereafter, juries in Recorder's Court have more accurately reflected the city's population.

In 1971 Cockrel defended James Johnson, a black worker at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant who had killed two foremen and a job-setter after being fired. The defense put Chrysler on trial, contending that company harassment and the murderous working conditions at Eldon had pushed Johnson over the edge.

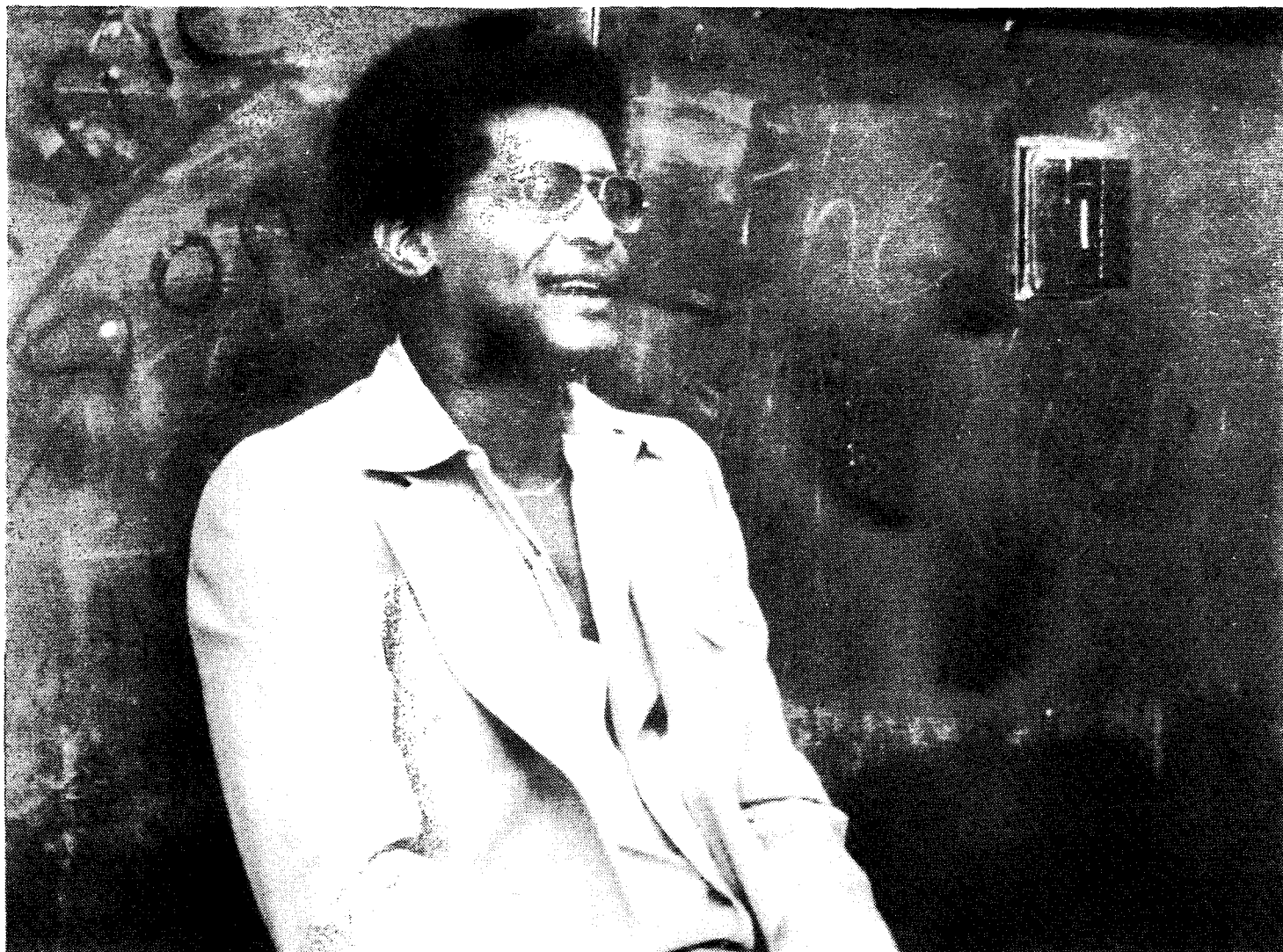
After Cockrel took the jury to see the plant, they held Johnson not responsible for his actions.

Two years later the long battle against the Detroit police STRESS unit was dramatically focused by the trial of Hayward Brown.

The elite police unit had killed nearly a score of Detroiters, all but one black. There was general suspicion that they were also giving protection to heroin dealers.

Brown and two comrades who had been waging their own private war against dope were involved in a shootout with STRESS officers in which four police were wounded. They became fugitives in the largest manhunt in Detroit history. Black homes were terrorized by police raids. Brown was eventually captured; his friends were killed by police in Atlanta.

Cockrel again took the offensive, putting the police and STRESS on trial, and instructing both jury and city on the history of police violence in Detroit. Brown was acquitted. Early in 1974 newly elected mayor Coleman Young fulfilled a campaign pledge and abolished STRESS.



**Ken Cockrel was well known in Detroit because of his political work and a series of intensely political trials. Though his campaign was not draped in red, Detroit voters knew his views.**

The most recent publicized Cockrel defense was top-of-the-hour news in Detroit. A black policewoman in Flint, Mich., Madelyn Fletcher, was forced to armed self-defense by the threats of white male officers. A shooting incident left her and an antagonist wounded. Cockrel exposed the racist and sexist history of the Flint police department and the specific abuse of Fletcher. The prosecution collapsed.

Cockrel's use of the courts has been complemented by other political activity. In the '70s a disciplined and experienced cadre of associates, working in a series of coalitions and organizations, have published newspapers and pamphlets, held monthly educational forums, staffed a bookstore and a printing operation. Their first electoral test resulted in the

1972 election of Justin Ravitz, the nation's first Marxist judge.

The Cockrel victory further demonstrated the potential of a movement that combines a remarkable individual leader, an organizational center, and people prepared to embrace left initiatives. Cockrel's vote came from the black working class, from the underclass of permanently unemployed, from black professionals, and from the 15 percent of the white electorate who respect an independent fighter and a man with ideas.

How Cockrel will be received in the halls of power and how he will represent the tens of thousands who look to him for leadership remain to be seen, but the most important urban contest of the 1980s may now be shaping up in Detroit. ■



M.C. Rice (with mike) Berna Friedman (at blackboard)

## Aware of the limitations

Ken Cockrell was recently interviewed for *In These Times* by Jack Russell:

*Ken, we know that a lot of people wanted you to win. Who didn't?*

The Labor/Democratic party axis didn't want us elected and obviously don't want to see the emergence of an independent locus of political leadership inside of the city and especially inside the black community.

Mayor Young didn't want us in, either, because one would have to be awfully naive to imagine decisions being made as to what kind of slates are going to be drawn up by that axis without at least these being checked by Mayor Young and his operatives.

They're threatened by our campaign and have behaved accordingly. But we have been sufficiently powerful so that they have had to be very careful about how their opposition has been expressed. They haven't been able to bait us on our Marxist or socialist politics.

Mayor Young and I have not had substantive discussions. My guess is that's going to change. One thing that results from our election is the necessity of those folks engaging us in direct communication. They'll have to present some rationale for what they're doing. They gotta deal with me.

*What do you think has been won—in the narrower sense? What can be done on the city council?*

I'm aware of the limitations that are imposed upon the city council. The job is not one that is established for the initiation of programs to influence the kinds of services that are being provided by the city. It's a collegial body and you're one of nine and confronted with the parliamentary necessity of getting majority support for your position.

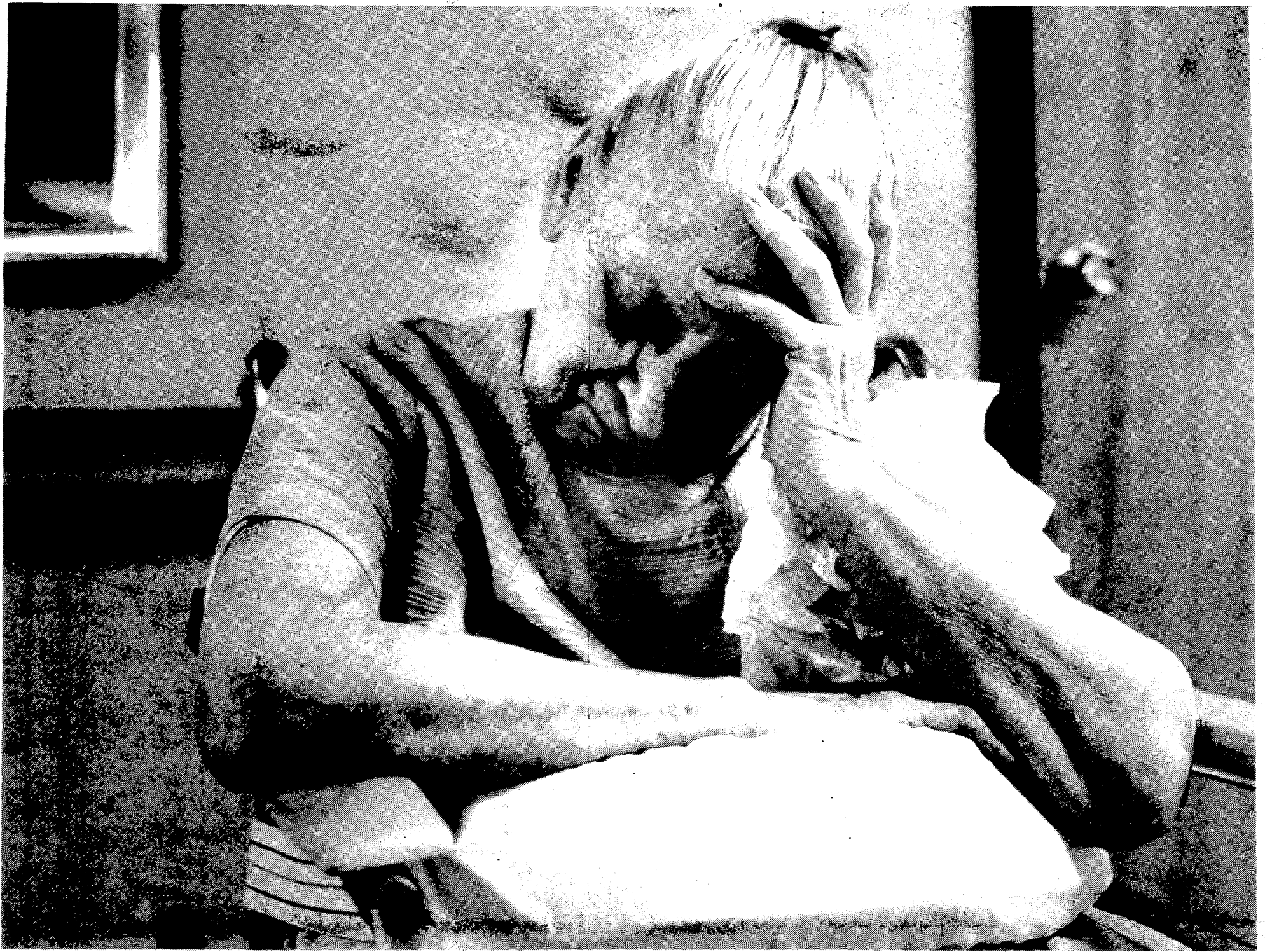
You are assigned the responsibility of budget approval, discharging, the approval of contracts that the city negotiates, the approval of settlements of lawsuits that are initiated involving the city, and so on. The resources made available to the council are essentially to increase their capacity to exercise an auditing, monitoring, reviewing function.

I'm trying to be honest with people. I

*Continued on page 8.*



## CITIZEN ACTION



Richard Stromberg

# Taking on nursing home abuse

**"Too many groups just stop with reporting bad conditions. They don't follow through with concrete actions."**

By Robert Shildgen

**O**AKLAND, CALIF.—Paralyzed by a severe stroke, Marilyn Roberts was "starving to death," according to the people who found her.

The 46-year-old victim, who asked that her real name not be used, was discovered not in a lonely apartment or a remote rural residence, but in a nursing home here. And the rescuers were neither nursing home personnel nor state health investigators but a local citizen's task force, called United Neighbors in Action.

UNA is one of a growing number of citizens' groups across the country that are active as militant advocates for an estimated one million nursing home residents—many of whom are suffering substandard care or even criminal neglect in the nation's 23,000 convalescent homes.

In one California nursing home, a state health inspector found 21 of 26 patients with bruises or strange lacerations on their bodies. In Texas, one-third of the nursing homes are reportedly violating federal health standards, with few violators receiving penalties severe enough to deter them.

Kentucky State Rep. Sidney Adams said after a recent statewide investigation there that "I experience things I never expected to see as far as the human race goes."

"Too many groups just stop with re-

porting bad conditions," says UNA director Elizabeth Hirshfield. "They don't follow through with concrete actions to change those conditions."

In the Roberts case, after UNA charged the nursing home with gross neglect for making only half-hearted efforts to feed her, the home transferred the patient to the county hospital, where she recovered. UNA filed a complaint with the state health department and later sued that agency, naming Roberts as co-plaintiff and charging the state with failure to crack down on violations. The case is still pending.

Like the National Council of Senior Citizens in Michigan and the Gray Panthers in several other states, UNA acts on a variety of levels: from on-site inspections to lobbying in the state capital for laws to improve training of nursing home personnel, better nursing aide-to-patient ratios and improved health codes.

But UNA operates mainly on a grass-roots level. Founded last January and affiliated with National People's Action, a coalition of neighborhood action groups across the country, UNA is supported entirely by community donations, solicited door-to-door.

UNA's three full-time staffers on the nursing home project—Cassie Strait, 22, Jaya Salzman, 25, and Karen Whitmer, 23—meet often with church, family and citizen groups. But their basic and most effective tool for monitoring nursing home abuses is a "hotline."

The various participating groups publicize UNA's 24-hour telephone service, encouraging the public to report nursing home problems. UNA then arranges for a trained team of three to five persons to investigate the complaint and confer with the administration.

"We've seen real improvement in a number of cases," says Salzman, report-

ing that UNA has received complaints concerning some 30 of the 93 nursing facilities in the Oakland-Berkeley area.

If the facts warrant it, UNA demands specific improvements and threatens legal or other public action if changes are not implemented before a followup visit.

As a result of charges filed by UNA and other action groups, over \$50,000 in fines have been levied against Bay Area nursing home operators this year.

## Abuse everywhere.

James Jones, spokesman for the California Association of Health Facilities, criticizes UNA for using "scare tactics." He contends UNA is often more anxious to talk to the media than with nursing home administrators about mutual concerns. Admitting that there are "a few less than reputable operators," Jones says, "We would like to see those people put out of business." But he insists that residents receive good care in 99 percent of California's convalescent homes.

Charlene Harrington, ousted in July as supervisor of California's nursing home regulatory agency, disagrees. "They [home operators] are ripping people off right and left. There's raw and gross abuse everywhere," she says. Harrington blames her ouster on pressure from the nursing home industry.

"The problem is greed," says UNA's Salzman, pointing out that California's 1,200 nursing homes—75 percent privately owned—divided up \$348 million in MediCal (the state medical plan) payments last year.

"The profit motive is the culprit," agrees Robert Myers, program director of the Wisconsin-based Midwest Center for Health Planning. "They can't hire adequate staff; they scrimp on food and medical essentials simply because they make more money that way."

Industry spokesman Jones denies this. "If nursing home operators are out for the money, they're in the wrong business," he says, citing a 1976 California Auditor General's report showing only 3.3 percent profit before taxes.

Yet the administrators in some privately owned homes concede that many nursing home problems can be traced to the low wages paid to employees, especially nursing aides who do 95 percent of the direct patient care.

"No sooner do nursing aides learn the rudiments of the job than they leave," one Oakland nursing home administrator confided. And, he added angrily, "I can't blame them. They work eight hours at \$2.50 an hour on a dirty and difficult job, and then they have to go and stand in a food stamp line after work in order to scrape together enough to live on. How can you expect professional quality care under the circumstances?"

It's the poor working on the poor; according to a recent AFL-CIO study, 68 percent of nursing home residents have an annual income of less than \$3,000; 22 percent have no income at all.

After investigating 128 homes in 14 states, the AFL-CIO recommended the "gradual phasing out" of eligibility of privately owned homes for public funds in favor of non-profit government or religious ownership.

UNA supports a transition to non-profit operations but also advocates more creative alternatives to convalescent health care. Some UNA proposals are tax credits or voucher payments for families or individuals caring for patients at home, day care centers, and cooperative-type non-profit-nursing facilities with a patient-family council selecting the administrator.

**Robert Shildgen is a San Francisco area free-lance writer who teaches journalism at Oakland's Merritt College.**



## FOOD &amp; LAND

# Conflict of interest over food

Since the early '70s farm policy has become inextricably linked to foreign policy, energy policy and domestic economics.

By Martin Brown  
*Pacific News Service*

The nationwide "farm strike" by the fledgling American Agriculture movement bears all the signs of a desperate political gesture without much economic threat, unless it be to the farmers themselves. The strike may, however, make people aware that farmers and the Department of Agriculture are no longer the sole masters of farm policy.

Since the early '70s farm policy has become more and more a matter of food policy, inextricably linked with foreign policy, energy policy and domestic economics. Policy making has become the concern of a wide variety of competing interest groups, and it is no longer possible for activists from the farm sector alone to destabilize it.

The slogan of the American Agriculture movement—"100 percent parity"—is more a political gesture than a real goal. The real intent of the activist farmers is more likely encompassed in legislation proposed by Sens. Robert Dole (R-Kan) and Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) that would tie farm support payments to the rate of inflation of farm production costs. This would result in farmers always receiving at least their cost of production.

## Victims of own policies

Yet even this proposal has met heavy opposition from non-farm interests in Congress. Critics argue that those farmers in

the most desperate financial shape today—the approximately 10 percent of all farmers who make up the hard-core of the American Agriculture movement—are victims of the very farm policies they are promoting.

These farmers are the ones who over-invested in response to the high prices of the early 1970s. Thus, they are burdened today by an inflated cost of production—as high as \$4.75 per bushel of wheat—because of the high price of newly acquired land and machinery. They are also under heavy pressure to pay off the large debts they incurred in making new investments.

More conservative or well-established wheat farmers, with more equity in land, better credit and lower production costs—as low as \$2.00 a bushel—on the other hand, will have an easier time riding out the price slump.

Some critics argue that the farm bill signed by Carter earlier this year, guaranteeing farmers 60 percent parity, already gives too much to farmers. It provides for government loans and a minimum price of wheat—currently set at \$2.90—to farmers who agree to keep a portion of their land out of production or their wheat off the market. The intended result is a reduction in wheat output to stop the price slide.

Del Gardner, director of the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics at the University of California, estimates the cost to the taxpayer under the current program for surplus storage and direct payments to growers at \$6-\$10 billion for 1978. And, says Gardner, "If we continue to stimulate further increases in output, the stockpile will be enormous."

Charles Schultz, Carter's economic advisor, warned against a support program like the current one in a 1971 study for the Brookings Institution. He argued that price support programs provide disproportionate benefits to large farmers, and drive up the price of farmland in relation to farm income.

"In the long run," Schultz concluded, "farm subsidy programs, related as they

are to the production of farm commodities, tend to benefit farmers chiefly in their role as landowners and not in their role as farm operators."

## Food and diplomacy.

In the foreign policy realm there is concern that the kinds of farm support programs promoted by American Agriculture could wreck efforts to use food as a tool for international stability.

In a recent issue of the influential journal *Foreign Policy*, Swarthmore College political science professor Raymond Hopkins argues that "America's responsibility for managing global food supplies is inescapable [and] can be a source of strength for our foreign policy." Yet, he claims, "considerable pressure from narrow domestic interests" has undercut the efforts of diplomats attempting to use food for foreign policy objectives.

Referring to a World Bank study that estimated some 1.2 to 1.3 billion underfed people in the developing nations, Hopkins warns that "the degradation of life, loss of human resources and potential for violence represented by this situation can be ignored only at great peril to human values and long-term world stability."

For Hopkins and other foreign policy planners, "desirable policy changes" means the establishment of an international grain reserve with administrative mechanisms to guarantee reasonable but stable prices and a reliable supply to domestic and international markets.

Fred Sanderson, staff economist at the Brookings Institution and head of the State department's food policy office, worries that the wheat acreage set aside in the Carter program, if combined with unusually bad weather next year, could drastically undercut foreign policy goals. "The world remains as vulnerable to crop failure as it was in 1972," says Sanderson.

## Disarray among farmers.

Efforts by farmers in the American Agriculture movement to win federal inter-

vention on their behalf are made even more unlikely by the disarray among farm organizations. A united front of all farm organizations might have a chance of generating action, but no such front exists.

Fred Herringer, president of the powerful California Farm Bureau Federation, for instance, says his organization is against any "intervention into the free market." He contends that too high a support price for wheat could price American wheat out of the international market and result in an accumulation of unsalable wheat stocks.

"We would rather see the price of wheat drop this year and let the surplus supplies be sold off for animal feed," says Herringer. "That way, the farmer will have higher prices next year. The real return to the grower will be higher over the five-to-ten-year period without government interventions into the free market."

The National Farmers Organization (NFO), heavily represented among Midwestern wheat growers, on the other hand, generally favors the current Carter program. NFO president Charles Frazier says, "It all depends on how the wheat farmers respond. If at least 75-90 percent of the producers participate in the acreage set-aside, then the current downward price trend will be halted, but not reversed. Wheat supplies will still be adequate for next year and consumers won't suffer."

In fact, only the small National Farmers Union (NFU) has taken a position similar to that of the American Agriculture movement, advocating substantial increases in the level of federal loan payments.

Martin Brown is a post-graduate research economist in the Department of Agriculture and Resource Economics at the University of California-Berkeley, and a fellow of the Third Century America project. He is co-author of an upcoming Environmental Protection Agency report on food quality standards and pesticide use.

# Congress unlikely to help farmers

By Elizabeth Wehr  
*Congressional Quarterly*

WASHINGTON—Chances seem next to nonexistent that Congress will reopen the troublesome question of federal farm price supports, as striking farmers want them to do.

Publicly, key members of Congress express sympathy with hard-pressed wheat farmers who called a national strike Dec. 14. But privately they give the farmers little chance of success, unless strike sentiment runs far broader and deeper than has been evidenced so far.

The strike has spurred a flurry of bills and an outbreak of political jitters among members from farm states who face election contests in less than 12 months. But the prevailing feeling is that it would take dramatic supermarket shortages and price hikes—predicted for January by the strike organizers—to force members to even reconsider support levels set for the next four years by the 1977 farm bill.

Even then political realities pretty well foreclose chances of farmers getting more aid than Congress voted this year.

"Even in the Senate, where every senator has some interest in agriculture, the odds are formidable," said Senate Agriculture committee chairman Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga.). In the House, "which is overwhelmingly weighted in the favor of urban special interests, the situation is virtually impossible."

Any move to raise farm prices would also run smack into strenuous objections from President Carter, who threatened

to veto the \$12-billion-a-year farm bill last year because it would "bust the budget."

Outnumbered farm-state members had to recruit urban colleagues to their cause to get the bill through Congress. Urban members traded votes for long-sought changes in the food stamp program.

Most of the bills that have been introduced in response to farmer discontent are simple one- or two-page calls for "the maintenance of farm income and purchasing power," as one bill phrases it—with no provisions for achieving it.

Carter's response to the strike call was to announce that the administration would push for better crop and disaster insurance programs for farmers next year. Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland said he supported the strike, but that the government shouldn't "guarantee the kinds of profits that some people are demanding."

What the striking farmers say they want is "100 percent parity" in farm prices—a claim that has produced economic forecasts that can only add to the farmers' political difficulties. The conventional parity formula, used for more than three decades to calculate the level of federal farm price supports, sought to reproduce the purchasing power of farmers in 1910-1914—a relatively prosperous time.

Using this formula, Chase Econometric Associates of Philadelphia has predicted that 100 percent of parity would add 38 cents to the price of a pound of hamburger, add 18 to 20 percent overall to exist-

Continued on page 8.



Farmers in the American Agriculture movement have not committed themselves to the conventional definition of "parity," which everyone admits would lead to skyrocketing prices, but the ambiguity of the term has led to confusion and loss of support in Congress.



## NUCLEAR POWER

## Jury frees anti-nuke protestors

The first line of defense for the occupiers was a "choice of evils" law. They argued that nuclear power was the more dangerous evil.

**By Norman Solomon**  
**P**ORTLAND—Ninety-six anti-nuclear occupiers were acquitted by an Oregon jury Dec. 16 after expert witnesses testified that the nation's largest operating nuclear power plant is an "imminent danger" to human life.

The historic not-guilty verdict came after three days of testimony on the dangers of nuclear power.

A total of about 200 protesters have been arrested and charged with trespassing for civil disobedience at the Trojan nuclear power plant, located 40 miles northwest of Portland on the Columbia River.

The 96 defendants had announced their intention to "put nuclear power on trial" as the state attempted its first prosecution of anti-nuclear protesters, who blocked the Trojan gates in August and November.

A spokesperson for Portland General Electric Company, main owners of the Trojan plant, said the utility was "disap-

pointed" by the verdict. A PGE vice president had sat next to the district attorney to assist the prosecution throughout the trial.

The six-member jury deliberated about five hours before returning the unanimous not-guilty verdict. Although Columbia County has a reputation for being solidly pro-nuclear, several jurors said after the trial that the evidence presented during the trial had convinced them that nuclear power is dangerous.

Testimony in defense of the occupiers included appearances by expert scientists and former state officials.

Dr. Ernest Sternglass, who has studied the effects of routine low-level radiation from nuclear power plants, testified that his analysis of official Oregon state government data links operation of the Trojan plant with increased readings of radioactive strontium 90 in milk produced nearby, and higher proportions of infant mortality closer to the nuclear plant.

Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a senior cancer researcher at the Roswell Park Memorial Institute for Cancer Research in Buffalo, N.Y., told the jury about studies that show increases in cancer rates among people living nearest to nuclear power plants.

A former director of the Oregon Department of Energy, Lon Topaz, said the Trojan plant is an "imminent danger" to human life and should be immediately shut down and decommissioned. He said his doubts about nuclear energy began to grow while he was the state's energy director from June 1975 to October 1976, causing a feeling that "this was a technology that had gotten ahead of the abil-

ity of human beings to control it."

As the first occupiers going to trial for anti-nuclear protests at Trojan, the 96 defendants implemented the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance's determination to put nuclear power on trial by making use of a state "choice of evils" law, similar to statutes known as "competing harms" or "law of necessity" in other states.

They were able to put on expert testimony about the dangers of nuclear power, contending that refusal to leave plant property was necessary and justified in order to prevent continuation of the far greater wrong posed by the Trojan plant.

After the defense rested, district court Judge James Mason told the jury to disregard all the testimony they had heard on the deadly hazards of nuclear power. Mason said the jury could not consider the "choice of evils" statute in reaching their decision.

Several jurors later said they had been angered by the judge's order at the close of the trial that they ignore the testimony of the dangers of nuclear plants. They also said that the testimony had turned them against nuclear power—and that a straw poll they took among themselves showed that if the "choice of evils" defense had not been ruled out by the judge's instructions, they would have reached a not-guilty verdict "in five minutes."

In closing arguments the defense urged jurors to "follow your conscience" in reaching a verdict. Since the judge had prohibited any mention of nuclear power in closing arguments, a defense attorney made use of a contingency plan approved

by defendants for utilization if the judge ruled out "choice of evils" at the end of the defense case—the argument that protesters had been arrested within a railroad track right-of-way and therefore the utility had not proved it had a right to order them off the property in front of the gates.

Over 100 Trojan occupiers remain to be tried, and District Attorney Martin Sells says that next time it's going to be different. "I'm not satisfied with the results of the first trial, and I think it could lead to a breakdown of law and order if it's not rectified," Sells said five days after the verdict.

As a columnist for the liberal *Willamette Week* noted: "Sells apparently was so intent on doing the utilities a favor by rebutting the protesters anti-nuclear witnesses that he failed to nail down to the jury's satisfaction the one case he had—criminal trespass."

A week earlier, in its first issue after the trial, the *Willamette Week* for the first time endorsed permanent shutdown of the Trojan plant.

The state's largest circulation black newspaper, the *Portland Observer*, meanwhile editorialized that, "as long as any doubt exists, nuclear reactors should be considered dangerous and other methods of generating electricity should be used."

The pro-nuclear *Daily Oregonian*—part of the Newhouse chain—responded to the trial with an editorial denouncing the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance and anti-nuclear protestors everywhere.

**Norman Solomon is a free-lance writer in Oregon and a member of the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance.**



## Ken Cockrel

*Continued from page 5.*

don't like to generate (to say it bluntly) bullshit expectations about what people can look for from someone being elected to the Detroit City Council.

*But many folks will be hoping—or fearing—that Cockrel's going to "do a number" on the council.*

There are people who are going to be suspicious of me. But I think we do bring something affirmative to the council.

We have shown a capacity to mobilize the community in a way that isn't reproduced by the other people on the council. That capacity can be brought to bear on some programs to benefit the community. In particular, I have my own view of the narcotics problem and feel that a mobilization can be developed around that.

What I'm able to do in the Council is going to be dependent upon what we're able to do in the community, just as what we're able to do in court was influenced by our ability to generate support for alternative approaches to legal problems in the community from which the juries came.

Whether I can or cannot, for example, advance programs of self-policing. ... Are we in a situation where we've got an organizational infrastructure that makes it politically possible to do what we are trying to do? Maybe yes. I'm committed to try.

But to generalize: we are studying the

concept of municipalization, the concept of the city being the insurer of last resort, the concept of the city being the provider of last resort to people who are incapacitated by dint of age, physical condition, etc., because cities are what they are—places where you dump the people that are incapacitated, the older, the younger, the weaker, the sicker. I don't want to sound like a social worker, but that's all the city government is: a service dispensing institution. It really is. *You've been called a number of things during your career in Detroit. I wonder if you'd care to comment on your general ideological perspective and its relationship to this campaign?*

What makes this campaign of interest, among other things, is the synthesis of a socialist political perspective and the electoral process. ... Marxist, I'm called; socialist, I'm called. And I am. That means I'm a person who has done some study and has come to accept Marxism as an analytical construct that is useful in attempting to understand the present and make some projections about the future. We say that the capitalist system is beyond salvation through reform or internal reconstitution. We want to supplant that system with a system that is organized to produce not for profit but to meet the needs of those who do the producing. I'm committed to that and that's what I comprehend to be socialism.

It's not an abstract proposition for us. Daddy was a worker. I don't romanticize

the business of being a worker. The only thing one really gets from working is tired.

*How do you think folks now perceive you and the movement you represent?*

I think that we have an identification with the extraparlimentary opposition in this country and we also have had an identification with self-defense. When people look at us they see us as persons who stood up for our right to fight, and that right to fight has been exercised by some people in some very volatile ways

in the community. We've supported that successfully, whether it's Madelyn Fletcher or Hayward Brown.

So I know that a lot of people think of us as being kind of basic in another way than just wanting to do well and hoping that we can get people to pass laws and resolutions and so forth.

I think people see us as fighting consciously and deliberately at the most effective level we can, knowing that the persons against whom we fight don't always play by the rules.

## Congress and farmers

*Continued from page 7.*

ing retail food prices, push inflation "close to double-digit levels" and slash agricultural exports, among other things.

The American Agricultural Movement, organizer of the farm strike, steers clear of the historical definition of parity, although the word has become their rallying cry. According to strike leader Bud Bitner, the farmers want "parity as it's defined in the dictionary—fairness."

The farmers want Congress to enact a minimum farm price law, like the minimum wage law. The price law would make it illegal to buy or sell farm products at less than 100 percent of parity, calculated under a new formula. That formula would take into account the costs of production and would include a "reasonable return for our investment and labor

—about 8 percent," according to Bitner.

"We're not wanting a government subsidy," Bitner stressed. This scheme would damp down the broad fluctuations of commodities markets and protect consumers from the costly effects of those fluctuations, the striking farmers contend.

Under the proposed statute, "we'd still have to produce, we'd still have to be efficient," but the profits of commodities dealers and other middlemen who now "get more than their fair share" would be cut, Bitner said.

If Congress won't act—as appears likely—Bitner promised that farmers themselves would organize "and set their own prices." But if they cannot organize a strike effective enough to pressure Congress into action in the first place, some observers doubt they could succeed in setting their own prices either.

**Recommended readings in American agriculture (see page 14):**

- Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity**, by Frances Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler (Houghton, Mifflin, 1977).
- Toward a National Food Policy**, by Joe Belden with Gregg Corte, Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, 2000 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20036.
- Food for People, Not for Profit**, ed., Catherine Lerza and Michael Jacobson (Ballantine Books, 1975).
- Eat Your Heart Out**, by John Hightower (Vintage Books, 1975).
- Rural America: A Voice for Small Town and Rural People** (periodical): Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC 20036.
- Annals** (American Academy of Political and Social Science), Jan. 1977: issue devoted to "The New Rural America": 3937 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19104.
- Southern Exposure** (periodical), especially Fall 1974 issue, "Our Promised Land": P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.



# IN THE WORLD

## MIDEAST



On Christmas day, Egyptian and Israeli representatives talk at Ismailia. Egyptians include (from left to right) Vice President Hosni Mubarek, Sadat, and Prime Minister Mundoun Salem. Israelis include Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, Begin, and Defense Minister Exer Weizmann. UPI

# Egypt/Israel talks snagged

By David Mandel

As expected, the Middle East peace talks, begun with President Sadat's November initiative, seem to be snagged on the Palestinian problem. While maintaining continued public optimism, the Israeli and Egyptian leaders forthrightly admitted after their Christmas meeting in Ismailia that disagreement over the fate of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza is preventing further progress.

But a return to stalemate is now unlikely. Begin and Sadat have irrevocably embarked on a polite, but dangerous game of "Chicken." Every concession and gesture necessitates reciprocation—egged on by the spotlights of world opinion. Putting a halt to this process would leave few options other than war. Yet, Begin is constrained by his extreme hard-line starting point and growing criticism at home of the few "concessions" he has made. While Sadat is under tremendous pressure to produce results—his many Arab critics are betting on the talks' failure—the desire for a stable settlement prevents Egypt from risking an entirely "separate peace."

"Sinai is not the problem." The statement has become trite in recent weeks. Begin is essentially willing to return the peninsula, occupied since 1967, to Egypt in order to induce Sadat to forget the Palestinians, and Sadat is apparently willing to accept less than total Israeli withdrawal in order to induce Begin to return the West Bank and Gaza.

### PLO a smokescreen for Israel.

All this "generosity," however, has forced some movement: Sadat now refers to the Palestine Liberation Organization only when pestered by reporters. The PLO has excluded itself by refusing the invitation to Cairo, he says, and the Cairo visit by several hundred West Bank and Gaza "moderates" was clearly an opening to Israel. But Jerusalem's long-standing and adamant refusal to deal with the PLO was always thought by Israeli peace partisans to be not the real issue—what serious objection could there be to talking?—but a smokescreen to avoid facing withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian state in territory the Israeli governments have wanted to keep.

The Sadat-initiated dynamic did, however, force Begin to backtrack at least

## The PLO might have supported Sadat's peace initiative and forced Begin's hand, but they were held captive by the Syrians.

semantically: His use of the term "Palestinian Arab people" and the replacement of "liberated territory" by "military occupation" (referring to the West Bank) shocked Israelis. It went further than the previous Labor government, and sure enough, Begin was criticized by ex-premier Yitzhak Rabin for "providing an opening for a Palestinian state." Opposition leader Peres also expressed concern that Begin had given up too much too quickly in offering to return Sinai. Some members of the ruling Likud party began to attack Begin's softness, and the extreme settlement movement "Gush Emunim" held its first anti-Begin demonstration.

So far, this opposition from the right is insignificant. The vast majority of Israelis are willing to return territory for real peace, and actually, Begin is now more popular than before: 80 percent support in recent polls. The "DeGaulle effect," last seen in Nixon's China trip, could apply in this instance. But despite all the noise—and the change was impressive considering Begin's starting point—his and Dayan's "home rule" plan for the West Bank, as it stands now, is totally unacceptable even to the most anti-PLO Palestinians.

Sadat's Arab critics are violently opposing his initiative, they say, in order to prevent him from accepting anything less than total Israeli withdrawal and independence for a Palestinian state. The Egyptian president would certainly prefer an overall settlement, including all the Arab states and the PLO. A separate agreement would hardly bring to the region the stability he wants, to lift part of Egypt's military burden and to attract foreign investment. Sadat is unlikely to go totally alone, but ironically, a lack of Arab solidarity with his approach is liable to lead him to more readily conclude a compromise between the current Israeli pro-

posal for the Palestinian issue and the other Arabs' stance—which is still his official position. Such a compromise—involving, perhaps, more than autonomy but less than independence, and a drawn-out timetable for Israeli withdrawal—could gain Jordanian support or tacit approval through participation of pro-monarchy residents of the West Bank.

Such a scenario would force militant Palestinians to resort to renewed sensational violence in an attempt to disrupt the new status quo. It is still too early to tell whether they would be frustrated for a time by lack of support from the Arab states, as in the 1950s, or successful, as they were later. Certainly, the PLO as presently constituted would lose the international recognition it enjoyed in the last few years.

### The Lebanese Connection.

The Lebanese civil war of 1976 weakened the Palestinian movement tremendously, limiting its ability to maneuver and making it a hostage, at this crucial moment, to Syria's rivalry for influence with Egypt. One PLO official I spoke with admitted that he wished the organization could have supported Sadat's moves. This would have put much greater pressure on Israel to agree.

Such a stance would have certainly been enthusiastically supported by Arabs in the occupied territories, and there is evidence that many in the PLO, including its head Yassir Arafat, were not so negative to Sadat as it seems today: Arafat was in Cairo when Sadat first announced his visit to Israel; he made no statement and remained in the city for several days. The televised first reaction by the PLO UN delegate in New York was a very moderate "wait and see." Moreover, the official pointed out to me, Arafat did not sign the communique issued at the Tripoli "counter-conference"

in early December, though he was present. A lesser PLO figure signed.

But the PLO's hands are tied by the Syrians, it was explained to me. Only a year ago, Damascus was under heavy fire throughout the Arab world for invading the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon, after the latter was drawn into the war on the side of the Lebanese left. Peace was eventually made, but on Syria's terms, and the PLO lost much of its political independence. An alignment with Sadat now would have meant loss of the one remaining Palestinian military bastion tolerated by the Syrians—south Lebanon—not to mention financial and other backing of the more "radical" Arab states: Libya and Iraq. All this, with no guarantee that Sadat can force the Israelis to withdraw.

Similarly, the Soviet Union is apparently also captive of Syria's rivalry with Egypt. Damascus remains its only ally among the "confrontation states"; the USSR must bank on the failure of the Sadat initiative to insure its own indispensable place as a settlement's co-sponsor.

### The war option.

If Sadat now does win Israeli concessions, it may be too late for the PLO and its "supporters" to climb aboard, though logically, any party that wants a stable settlement is better off not excluding a potentially disruptive factor. For this reason, even Israel may readily accept a tamed PLO if compelled in any case to withdraw. Given the present Palestinian weakness and Sadat's anxiety to settle, a truly independent West Bank-Gaza state, favored by most Arabs and by the Israeli left, is an unlikely outcome.

Nor can actual Israeli withdrawal be considered an accomplished fact. Begin and Dayan hope that Sadat's walk out on a limb will make him accept something closer to the "home rule" plan. Their assumed military superiority makes war a more acceptable alternative to Israel's hawks than "surrender" of the West Bank. In the final analysis, Sadat is hoping that world, and especially U.S. pressure will prevent war and force Israel—and the other Arabs—to follow his plan. Given all the conflicting local, regional and international interests, this may be a tall order. ■



## AFRICA

## Mozambique's two years on its own

By Allen Isaacman

Few newly independent nations have faced as many far-reaching problems as Mozambique. Although 400 years of Portuguese rule ended on June 25, 1975, the legacy of colonialism remained. FRELIMO (the Mozambican Liberation Movement) inherited a country suffering from the brutal afflictions of underdevelopment. The illiteracy rate was over 90 percent, rural health care non-existent, and the urban population was forced to live in makeshift shanty towns. The country's economy was totally dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia—whose political and racial ideology were the very antithesis of FRELIMO's principles.

The first two years since independence have not been easy. The young nation has suffered from natural calamities, including floods in February 1977 that left thousands homeless in the south and destroyed much of the country's food production. Portuguese settlers, adamantly opposed to FRELIMO, destroyed factories, farm equipment and trucks before they departed. Moreover, the massive exodus left the country with an acute shortage of technicians and professionals. In the international arena Mozambique's decision to support the UN sanctions against Rhodesia cost it more than \$150 million and intensified its military campaign that has taken the lives of over 1,000 civilians so far.

Despite these setbacks FRELIMO embarked upon a carefully designed program to restructure Mozambican society. The integration of all Mozambicans through collective participation in decision-making to improve the quality of life has received the highest priorities.

The institutionalization of the "reuniao," or meeting, in all sectors of Mozambican life reflects FRELIMO's commitment to popular participation and collective action—the very essence of "People's Power." Mass participation and mobilization were introduced into the liberated zones during the ten years of armed struggle, and with the defeat of the Portuguese, FRELIMO organized groups in factories, schools, urban neighborhoods and rural villages to explain to Mozambicans that it was both their right and their duty to become involved in the creation of a new society.

The government's efforts to integrate all segments of the population includes a concerted effort to assuage the anxieties of the white community. Upon my arrival at the international airport, I noticed a conspicuous large poster depicting a black and white arm embracing. The caption read "Abaixo com racismo"—down with racism. This message is repeated daily on the radio, in the newspapers, and can be seen on wall drawings centrally placed throughout the principal cities. The Nationalities Act extended Mozambican citizenship to all Portuguese who had either resided in Mozambique for five years or who had been born there. Currently, white Mozambicans are represented at the highest levels of government, among them three Ministers.

Immediately after taking power, FRELIMO began to dismantle the oppressive colonial institutions. In July 1975, the government abolished private schools and nationalized education, making it available to all. Since then primary school enrollment jumped from 700,000 to 1,200,000, with a proportionately greater increase in secondary school enrollment. Young girls who rarely attended school during the colonial period now do, and the government is persuading recalcitrant parents to educate their daughters as well as their sons.

The traditional classroom has also been transformed to reflect Mozambique's emphasis on collective action. As one teacher noted, "Gone are the old colonial instruments of perpetuating elites by offering an authoritarian and paternalistic concept of education to the children of the wealthy." They have been replaced by structures based on the dual concepts



Allen Isaacman

**FRELIMO, Mozambique's liberation movement, inherited a country suffering from the ravages of colonialism. But it has brought health, education and popular power to the people.**

of student participation and student responsibility.

Students are organized into units of 25-30, each of which elects a leader who, together with faculty and staff representatives, initiates academic, cultural and productive activities. Each unit is further subdivided into groups of 5-6, which are responsible for the education of their members. More advanced students are required to aid those who are behind. Collective work in fields is seen as an integral part of the educational process, since it teaches the value of group action. At the university level, the same principle is reflected in the requirement that students spend July living and working with peasants.

The government has also established voluntary adult literacy centers throughout the country. About 400,000 adults attend classes in factories, communal villages and urban residential areas.

Equally impressive developments have occurred in health care. When the government nationalized the medical profession, President Machel declared that health care was a right, not a privilege of wealth or race. Virtually all medical care is free and treatment has increased dramatically.

Gabriel Almeida, a patient in a Nam-pula hospital for two and one-half months, told me, "If we were ever lucky enough to get admitted to a hospital during the colonial period, we were treated like animals. Now we are treated with dignity."

Despite doctors' initial resistance, hospitals now involve patients and the larger community in the decision-making process. Patients meet regularly with doctors and nurses to air complaints, make suggestions and to learn about preventative medicine, which information they are expected to take to their villages.

New housing opportunities have also

helped to improve the quality of life for urban Mozambicans. In an effort to combat residential segregation and end speculation by landlords, FRELIMO allowed homeowners to retain their permanent residence and even a summer place, but abolished landlordship and nationalized all rented living quarters. This action, together with the outflow of large numbers of Portuguese, made available many modern apartments into which more than 125,000 Mozambicans have been resettled. Rent is determined by income and family size as well as by the type of residence—and by any standards is extremely low.

Changes in residence patterns are proceeding even more rapidly in rural than in urban areas. Within the past two years more than 50 communal villages have been established and many more are in the planning or formative stage. They range from relatively modest villages of a few hundred families to massive communities housing up to 14,000. These communal villages, officials believe, hold the key to Mozambique's rural transformation and are the progenitors of a new socialist society. Fully developed villages include nurseries, schools, health stations and consumer cooperatives as well as extensive fields.

Western charges of forced conscription of peasants seemed fabricated, according to what I saw. More than two dozen interviews with members of communal villages in three provinces indicate that the decision to live and work collectively was voluntary. It is common to see private holdings and communal villages side by side.

Peasants who decided to organize communal villages built houses, schools and health centers, cleared fields and constructed new roads. They also elected committees to plan production, to obtain technical assistance and capital from the

government, and to organize social and educational services. Adults meet weekly to plan and to discuss production problems. Profits are divided equally and are supplemented by yields from the small private plots.

But enthusiasm of the peasants and short-term agricultural gains cannot mask serious difficulties still remaining. Shortage of agricultural equipment, lack of capital, and absence of trained agronomists will probably worsen with the increase of communal villages during the next few years. Even more damaging is the lack of transportation. The destruction of thousands of trucks by Portuguese settlers prior to their exodus has isolated rural villages from urban markets. Throughout my travels I was repeatedly shown spoiled tomatoes, grain and other commodities that had perished for lack of transportation and equipment. Together with widespread flooding, this created serious food shortages in the capital last February.

To overcome agricultural shortages FRELIMO nationalized many large abandoned European estates. The peasants who had worked on them were assured better conditions and direct involvement in all production decisions through workers' committees. On the sprawling State Farm at Chokwe, located in southern Mozambique, encompassing several thousand hectares and employing 6,000 workers, the government increased salaries by as much as 300 percent and plans have been made to provide housing for the laborers and their families. Higher morale, along with the arrival of 100 tractors and a number of foreign technicians, has increased rice production to about 40,000 tons per year—about 40 percent of the country's needs. Conditions are also improving on state cotton and tea farms in the north, although not as dramatically.

*Continued on page 11.*



## SPAIN

## Catalonia's historic compromise

By Barbara Mann Franck  
Iberian News Service

**G**IRONA—With the appointment in early December of four socialists and two communists to a 12-member Executive Council, Catalonia's *Generalitat* has become Europe's first "government of national concentration," the Spanish equivalent of the Italian Eurocommunist's "historic compromise." Under the Sept. 29 Royal Decree establishing what has deceptively been called autonomy for this northwest region of Spain that includes Barcelona, the Council will have limited powers to oversee public institutions in the region but as yet has no funds to do so.

The composition of the executive council worries the minority right central government of Adolfo Suarez, whose party was awarded only two seats on it. The other four members are centrists and moderate Catalan nationalists.

The council was appointed by Generalitat President Josep Tarradellas, who had been named to his post by Suarez and King Juan Carlos I. Tarradellas led the negotiations with Suarez that resulted in the proclamation of the *Generalitat* and had been attacked for agreeing to such a watered down version.

Tarradellas apparently bought the essential cooperation and support of dissident Catalan leftists by promising them seats on the executive council in proportion to their June 15 election victories. The socialists and communists received 50 percent of the popular vote in Catalonia when the *Cortes* (Spanish parliament) representatives were elected.

When the *Generalitat*, which dates back to the 14th century, was restored from 1931 to 1938 under the Second Republic, Catalonia had its own regional legislature and judicial system and controlled police and *Guardia Civil*; the Catalan language had official status alongside Spanish. The new version of the *Generalitat* omits these basic powers and rights.

The constitution now being drafted by the *Cortes* will ultimately determine just how much real independence is to be permitted Catalonia and the other regions that foster movements for varying degrees of home rule.

Meanwhile, the Suarez government has adopted measures to curtail regional and nationalist popular movements, following an autumn of massive demonstrations and strikes focusing on regional autonomy.

Malaga was paralyzed most recently, on Dec. 6, by a general strike in protest of the police-related killing of a young worker during regional independence demonstrations two days earlier. The demonstrations had brought over a million people out into the streets of the major cities of Andalusia. On the same day, half a million demonstrated for autonomy in Galicia in northwest Spain.

In addition to repressive police street action, the Suarez government plans to prohibit all independence demonstrations.

This change in government policy is a recognition of the increasing strength of the nationwide popular movement for a federalist and/or republican form of government as opposed to the constitutional monarchy that Franco willed Spain. ■



A cultural congress meets in Barcelona.

## AUSTRALIA

## Surprise election defeat for Labor

By David Gordon

**M**ELBOURNE—An era in Australian politics came to an end at about 11:15 p.m. on Saturday, Dec. 10, with the Liberal-Country Party Coalition having held its record majority gained in December 1975, and Malcolm Fraser continuing as Prime Minister. Gough Whitlam announced that he was stepping down as Parliamentary leader of the Labor party.

The election result came as a shock to political analysts on both sides. During the past two years of Liberal-Country party rule, unemployment had increased to nearly 7 percent, the highest since the depression of the '30s. In the last weeks before the election, the Liberal Treasurer, Phillip Lynch, resigned after allegations of corruption involving land sales. While Labor was not unanimously expected to win, most analysts predicted a fairly close election.

The final figures are anything but close. In the House of Representatives, the Liberals have 66 seats and the Country party, their coalition partners, have 18. Labor has 35 seats and five are still doubtful. The Liberals are able to form a government and maintain a majority without their traditional partners. On actual voter percentages, the election is not quite the landslide it appears to be. With 85 percent of the vote counted, the Labor party had 40 percent of the vote, the Liberals 38.5 percent, the Country party 9.7 percent and the Australian Democrats, a new party, polled 9.3 percent.

## Uranium mining an issue.

The major issue in the muddled campaign was the economy. Other issues included trade union militance and nuclear energy development. Neither party made much of any issue except the economy, and much of the advertising was devoted to the past performance of the parties. Few policies were presented for the future by either side.

One area in which the parties offered a

clear choice is the development of Australia's massive deposits of uranium. The Liberals have given the go-ahead to uranium mining companies in spite of the reservations expressed by the government's commission studying the problem. The Labor party called for a moratorium on development of uranium until the problems of waste disposal and safeguard to prevent weapons proliferation have been solved. Labor threatened to rescind any contracts written by the present government if they were elected.

## End of an era.

The "Whitlam Era," which this election brings to a close, will be remembered as a time of great change in the style and substance of Australian politics. As Prime Minister from 1972 to 1975, and in opposition since 1975, Whitlam's personal presence, energy and gift of oratory have set a new standard among Australian politicians. During his three years in government, the Labor party ended Australia's involvement in Vietnam, stopped conscription, developed a system of National Health, attempted to reverse the trend of foreign ownership and development of Australia's resources, and perhaps most important, established an "Australian voice" in world politics.

In 1975, two state governments appointed Liberals to fill vacancies caused by the retirement of an independent senator and the death of a Labor senator. This gave the Liberals the majority they needed to block the following year's budget, a move unprecedented in Australian politics. Amid a bitter debate over the constitutionality of the move, the Governor General, theoretically a figurehead representing the Queen, dismissed the government and appointed Malcolm Fraser, the leader of the Liberal opposition, as "caretaker" Prime Minister.

## Reaction ahead.

The Labor party, disunited and unprepared for the coup was defeated in

December 1975. The Liberal-Country Party Coalition gained the largest majority held by any government in Australian history.

It is possible to explain the rout of 1975 on the basis of Labor's disunity, a number of scandals involving overseas loans by the government to buy out foreign investors, and the poor state of the economy. It is far more difficult to explain the similar result this year.

After two years of Liberal government, the economy has not improved. The Fraser government has dismantled programs such as Medibank (the National Health Scheme), wage indexation, and large scale federal funding for schools which were popular with large sections of the elec-

torate. It has broken many of the election promises made in 1975. As yet, no treasurer has been named to replace Phillip Lynch, although this post is crucial to economic policy.

If the first two years of Fraser's leadership are a guide, Australians can expect continuing cuts in Social Security, federal aid to education and health care. Wage indexation, which was cut from full cost of living increases to partial increases, will be further cut. New anti-union laws passed by the Fraser parliament will be put to use in the next three years. Australian uranium will be mined and exported. As a result of this election, Australian public policy is likely to become more reactionary. ■

## Mozambique: two years

Continued from page 10.

FRELIMO was also forced to nationalize a substantial number of abandoned or mismanaged factories. Although this prevented the total deterioration of the industrial sector, lack of raw materials, breakdown of machinery, and the absence of skilled technicians have been devastating. Repeated sabotage has further eroded the industrial base.

Although few factories are running at full capacity, the situation is beginning to improve. Serious labor problems, such as drunkenness, tardiness and on-the-job accidents have declined appreciably during the past year. Moreover, factories that are able to get raw materials have increased production dramatically. The number of bicycles manufactured, for example, has surpassed the colonial figure, while the major cloth factory in Beira increased output 400 percent in the past year.

Workers and foreign technicians with whom I spoke attribute these recent gains

to the reorganization of labor in October 1976. To integrate workers more completely into the production process and to intensify their political and technical education, the workers at each plant elected a production council to determine and remedy causes of low production, to distribute tasks, to decide salaries, to improve safety conditions, and to treat serious social problems. The production council holds regular meetings at which all the workers are encouraged to criticize, discuss and make suggestions about future production plans.

Two years after independence a quiet confidence prevails among Mozambicans. There is a belief that through hard work and collective action a new and just society is being created. Already there is much to be proud of—new schools, hospitals, communals and, above all, a sense of control over one's destiny. ■

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It was as simple as a phone call. After tremendous hoopla and bitter controversy, all it took to sideline efforts to enlarge Northern California's Redwood National Park was a friendly chat between George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass). O'Neill quietly passed the word down to committee and the bill was killed, at least till the next session of Congress.

At stake was expansion of the park, which preserves some of the largest and oldest redwood trees in the world, by some 48,000 acres. Expansion had the support of environmentalists, powerful congressional Democrats and the Carter administration.

There were, of course, outcries in opposition from timber company executives. But the industry efforts were dwarfed in importance by those of organized labor.

The highpoint of the labor effort to stop efforts to expand the park came in mid-summer with a "loggers Convoy of Protest" caravan of timber trucks and timber workers to Washington. This reporter joined the Convoy as it returned from Washington.

The logging rigs roared into California's capitol city, out of place amid sleek and well-waxed cars. Air horns blared and the truck drivers leaned out their windows, raising their fists at perplexed downtown bystanders.

'Support Your Local Logger!' bumper stickers were pasted to every truck, and signs with stick-figure caricatures of Dick and Jane bore the label 'Our Kids—An Endangered Species.'

The last message, a hand-scrawled unprofessional, emotional message told the story best. These loggers are against expansion of the Redwood park, and they had banded to go to Washington and tell the government why.

Environmentalists were in Washington to argue that the Redwood National Park had to be expanded; their leaflets and slide shows showed the consequences of cutover landscapes. The loggers went to Washington to explain to Congress that saving those redwoods would cost them their jobs.

The convoy was the brainchild of Eureka mayor Sam Sacco and his friends in the Eureka Chamber of Commerce. Sacco, a hefty, fast-talking insurance salesman, turned the park issue into a campaign. An extensive media blitz raised \$100,000 for the convoy project. The timber companies donated trucks, materials and workers—who took up to three weeks off from work to organize and participate in the convoy.

Sacco made it clear in an interview with **IN THESE TIMES** that the campaign was not so much concerned with jobs as with what he called a "community effort." "I'm a businessman; I'm not a trade unionist," he said.

The logging and sawmill workers' union locals, however, took up the fight against expansion of the park as if it was their alone. Petitions were circulated and large meetings of workers were held. Hundreds rallied to their union's call.

They stormed hearing halls in Eureka and San Francisco, and 170 of them went to Washington. There they followed the International President of the Carpenters, Charles E. Nichols, up the steps of the Capitol to buttonhole representatives and senators.

The anti-park battle has been much more successful than it would have been if the unions had not joined it. Outraged caravans of workers demanding preservation of their jobs seem to be more effective in defeating environmental measures these days than industry lawyers in suits arguing for the preservation of company profits.

John Henning, California's top AFL-CIO official, denounced environmentalists in sharp language last March before a congressional hearing on the park issue. "These people don't give a damn about what happens to working people displaced by their social passions and frustration.... The trees come next. Our people come first."

By Douglas Zoloth Foster

# People



An extensive media campaign raised \$100,000 for the loggers' convoy to Washington. The materials and workers, who took up to three weeks off for the trip. Local logging and sawmill workers were also involved.

Environmental groups active in the park fight—the Sierra Club, the National Audubon Society, and Friends of the Earth—insist, for their part, that the unions are being led by the nose in this fight.

The timber industry's prediction of imminent economic collapse if the park bill is passed, for example, is seen as highly extravagant. "When the original Park was set aside in 1968," one environmentalist says, "all the companies claimed that they would go out of business and everyone's job would be lost. Well, none of them has."

The jobs issue is a real smokescreen for the industry," another park advocate adds. "Why are the unions falling for it? I don't know."

The AFL-CIO hierarchy is simply reflecting the viewpoint of most rank and file loggers in its anti-environmental stand in this fight.

As we head north toward Eureka with the convoy, stops are made to pass out literature and conduct interviews with local reporters. One of the drivers, a short, heavy, balding man, says earnestly, "It's funny about the Sierra Club. A redwood tree is valuable to 'em, but a man isn't worth a shit."

"No, that's not it," another driver interjects, leaning across the table. "They just expect us to be able to adjust to anything."

"Yeah, adjust to any level of poverty," still another adds, staring into his coffee. "I got a family to feed. I have to hang onto my job."

"It's just not true that we don't care about the community and about jobs," Stephen Lau of Friends of the Earth says the next day as we head out for a tour of the park. "We live here too, and

depend on a healthy economy like anyone else."

Lau is a young man with a thick thatch of reddish hair, an auto mechanic who has had little time in the past year for working on cars.

The Park itself is a beautiful but inaccessible oasis amid the logging. A road winds out of Orrick, a tiny mountain town, past a few saw mills belching thick columns of smoke, into the hills, which overlook the tallest redwood trees in the world. The dark, cool groves are enchanted, the grand champions towering where they have grown for thousands of years.

Logging proceeds on all sides. Inside the park boundaries, thick forests make a mass of greenery; outside, are clearcut patches on steep slopes, which have been "cat-logged." The landscape is a scarred map of roads that slice open the brown earth and leave a red skeleton.

Trucks laden with gigantic redwoods rumbled by, tearing toward the mills at full bore. "We've become scapegoats for job loss," Lau says, shaking his head. "But the timber companies have put everyone on the north coast in a bind, and if we don't do something about it, they'll bring disaster to us eventually."

There has been a decline in employment in forest product industries in the area, not because of park expansions, but because the lumbering industry has automated.

This automation, on a grand scale, makes the saw mills and pulp mills a futuristic display of emptiness. There are long corridors and huge rooms in the mills filled with whirring, expensive machinery... and few workers.

Unemployment in the logging districts



# vs. trees?



ber companies donated trucks, unions were among the



Although the timber companies claim to be logging on a "sustained yield" basis—planting as many trees as they cut—there is bound to be a lag time between future harvests that will ultimately throw thousands out of work for prolonged periods.

has kept 14 percent of the workforce idle, even while timber production has increased. That figure is likely to go up. Present indications are that old growth timber stands are being cut at such a rate that the economy is in for a serious fracture within the next decade.

Although the timber companies claim to be logging on a "sustained-yield" basis—planting as many trees as they are cutting down—there is bound to be a lag time between forest harvests that will throw even more loggers out of work for prolonged periods.

There are also serious questions about whether trees can be farmed in perpetuity in the way the companies have been accustomed to logging. No one knows how many years the soil of the region, for instance, can withstand the impact of tank-like machinery.

It would seem then that both loggers and environmentalists confront the same issue: how to prevent the economic collapse of their communities. The Center for Education and Manpower resources in Ukiah, for instance, has shown that more jobs could be created if lumbering practices could be changed. Hardwoods which are now wasted, thinned by chemical defoliation could instead be cleared by hand for use in furniture, particle board and parquet flooring. Of course, that would mean a move away from capital-intensive lumbering practices.

"In the long run, we want to see incentives for the communities to develop viable alternatives," Mecca Wawona, spokesperson for the CEMR said, "and to move away from being dominated

by one industry. We have tremendous fish resources that are presently being decimated by logging practices. We have to diversify."

One exciting possibility being raised by Wawona and others is to resurrect the Resource Conservation Districts of the 1930s. Under such a program local areas could form conservation districts, apply for grants, and organize and support new labor-intensive ventures by logging workers.

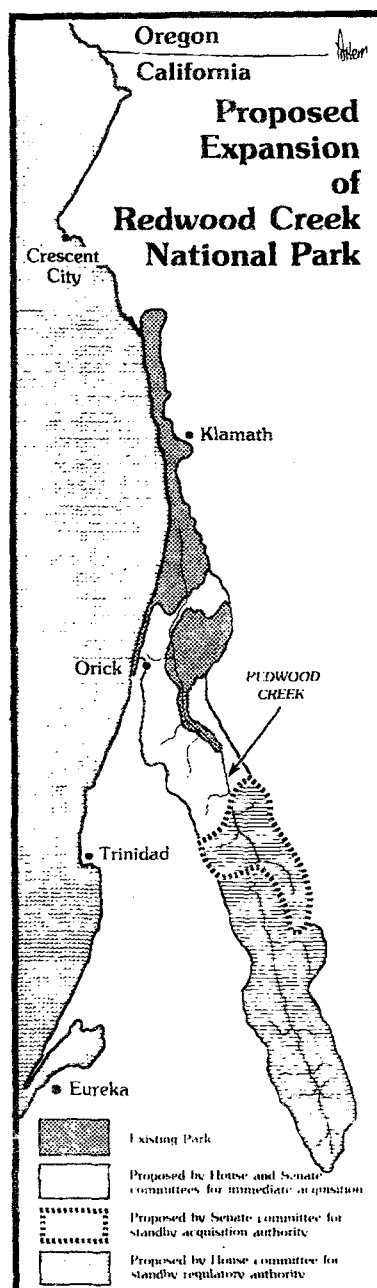
Wawona noted that such a program would be a "movement for local control," and that it would provide new, stable employment while satisfying environmentalists by conserving and efficiently using natural resources.

The voices of people such as Wawona and Lau seem to have been drowned out by threats of massive unemployment from the timber companies, however.

The division into pro- and anti-environmentalist camps has obscured the real economic and social calamity fast approaching.

Clyde Johnson is a soft-spoken man, bent over by 40 years of work in the labor movement and the onset of arthritis. A founder of the Southern Tenants Farmer's Union in the '30s, Johnson later made his way to the Bay Area where he worked as a carpenter. Until five years ago, he was the business agent of a Carpenters union local, the same union that has been so active in the anti-park campaign. Then he retired to do some writing, including a proposed book on the logging industry and the manipulation of logging workers.

Johnson was concerned that the timber companies—"all multinationals"—



would use the workers to succeed in "making a desert" of the Pacific Northwest. In the back of his mind, he says, was the memory of a trip to his home state of Minnesota after years of working in the South. "I'd left Minnesota in 1929, and I wanted to take my wife and son to see Big Sandy Lake." He pauses and closes his eyes. "It was so barren, not at all the way I remembered it. I was used to pine forests there. Instead, it was a vast sea of stumps."

Ill health forced Johnson to postpone his logging study, but not before he had travelled widely in the lumbering districts and talked to a lot of workers. "My approach when I went up there was to tell the loggers and mill workers, 'Look, you're living on borrowed time.' I asked, 'Where are you going when the company ruins the land and walks out on you? The ghost towns of California are lumbering ghost towns.'"

"The cut-and-run philosophy of the timber companies is what is at issue in the park fight," says Johnson, "not the question of jobs."

"These companies which hate the park," one logger from Eureka notes, "are the same companies which fight the union."

That bothers Johnson. He says the unions should take a progressive role in developing a program for the diversification of the economy in the hard-pressed lumber districts.

He stretches out his hands and smiles. "If the unions let the companies use them in this way, they won't have any friends—the ecologists or anybody else—to help them reclaim the desert."

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## Editorial

# Bitter harvest: Free market vs. family farm

Since the 1920s American agriculture has passed through a drastic transformation imposed by corporate power—a transformation that since World War II has moved over 20 million Americans off the land, eliminated over one half the farms, and reduced the farm work force to a miniscule 4 percent of the total labor force. No socialist revolution anywhere in the world has expropriated land use and ownership from so many people, so quickly and ruthlessly, as has American corporate-capitalism. Socialist Poland has more private-enterprising farmers than capitalist America.

More transparently than any other sector of society, American agriculture reveals the stark disparity between capitalist myth and capitalist reality.

**Myth:** Hard work and efficiency pay.

**Reality:** Far from being rewarded for their unequalled productivity and devotion to the "work ethic" and "free enterprise," American farmers have been punished with low income, high debt, and wholesale elimination from the marketplace.

**Myth:** "Free markets" make "free people."

**Reality:** Farmers have been "free" to remain farmers only in so far as they have been able to restrict the market with cartel-like organizations (cooperatives, associations) and government intervention. Their inability to control the market sufficiently in their own interests has led to their losing their decision-making freedom to the dictates of more powerfully organized corporate suppliers, processors, marketers, bankers and speculators, and to losing their freedom to farm altogether.

**Myth:** Enterprise in the pursuit of profit results in lowest costs and highest quality products at fair prices.

**Reality:** Private enterprise agriculture in the U.S. has resulted in rising costs, unfair prices to producers and consumers, and low quality (less nutritious and often harmful) products.

**Myth:** Enterprise for profit makes for the most efficient and least wasteful use and allocation of resources.

**Reality:** Farming for profit has yielded alarming rates of soil depletion and erosion, water pollution, energy input-to-output ratios ten times higher than 70 years ago, and overspecialization leading to spoilage and waste both of surplus products and of human life deprived of food and raiment by market-dictated "scarcity."

## Free market binge.

American agriculture reveals the basic truth about modern capitalism: It can not give free rein to those modern capacities for the production and distribution of abundance that are indeed available. It makes of abundance not the blessing it should be but the harbinger of terror—the terror of unemployment, bankruptcy, and social pathologies.

The record of the past five years is only one more case in point. From 1972 to 1976, farmers temporarily prospered in the midst of food shortages (with famines in Africa and Bangladesh). Now that crops are once again glutting the markets they are losing money and their farms.

The present cost-price squeeze is immediately traceable to the four-year (1973-76) "free market" binge into which the Nixon-Butz policies lured the farm-

A public investment, marketing and land system is the best guarantee of the family farm. That means changing the property system as a whole. Socialists need to pay more attention to agriculture, and to farm and rural people.

ers with an expansion of acreage and production comparable to that of the period around World War I. The farmers have been left with a financial hangover they will not soon forget as they now scramble back to government price supports, subsidies, and production restrictions—that is, to the more habitual sobriety of the controlled market system that had been in place from the New Deal to 1972.

The current drastic decline in prices received by grain farmers is matched by equally drastic rises in farmers' costs—fuel, fertilizers, chemicals, machinery, interest rates, land prices, rents, and taxes—while it is not matched by declines in retail food prices. The producing farmers and the consumers are caught in the pricing power of corporate monopoly, euphemistically called "agribusiness," that exploits them both. Agribusiness corporations, banks, and insurance companies control the farmers' terms of production, credit, and trade, and through their processing, transporting, wholesale and retail systems, dictate the inflated prices the consumers must pay.

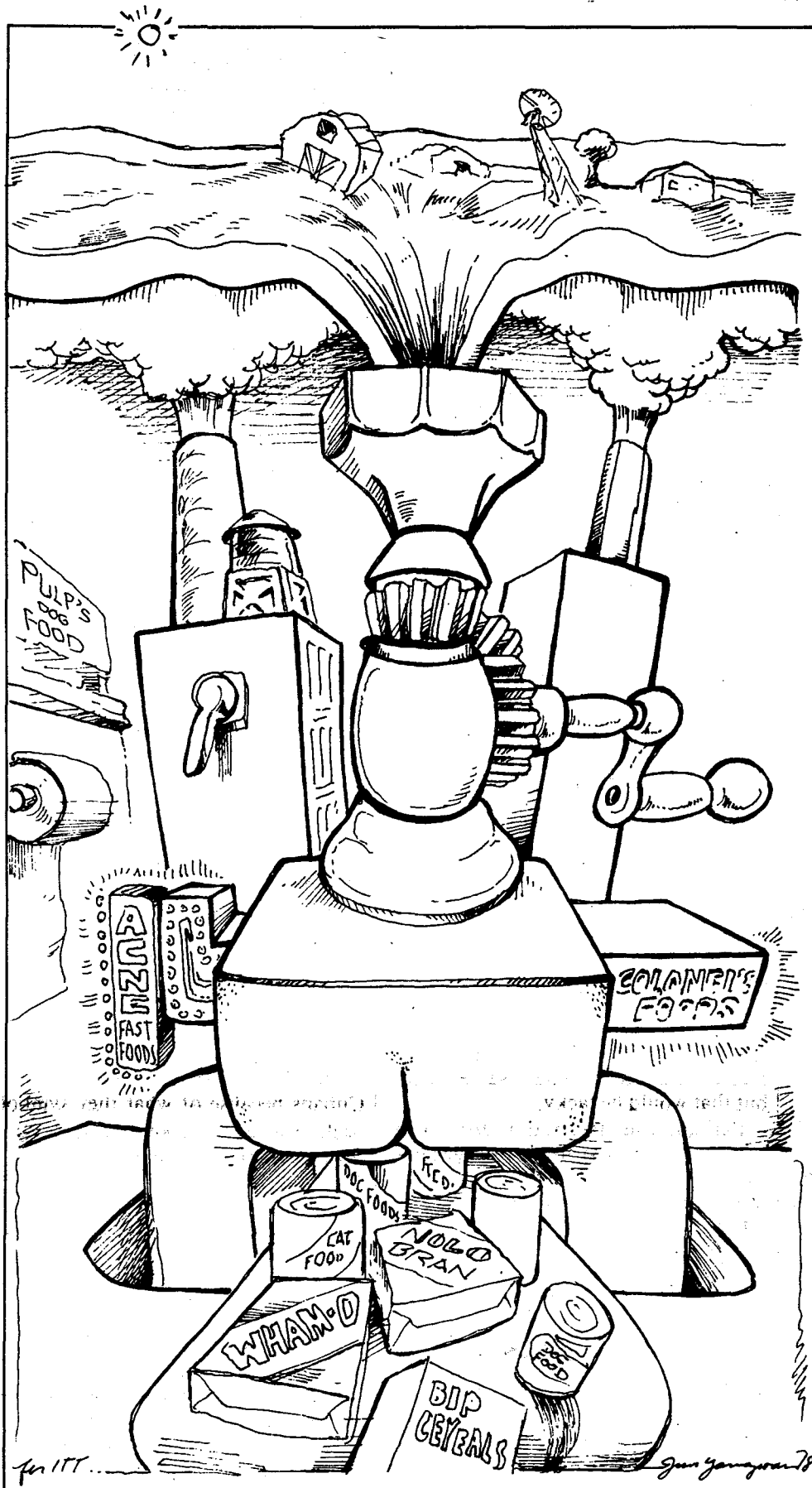
## Corporate agriculture.

Farming has been integrated into the corporate organization of the economy and is no longer a sector set apart. The farmers are no longer self-determining, autonomous entrepreneurs, but in effect, whether owners, renters or contractors, have been reduced to better or lower paid managerial labor within the broader corporate agribusiness system.

The richest and relatively more well-to-do farmers—the 20 percent or so who account for over three-fourths of the nation's agricultural output—have no interest in fighting the corporate system. The rest of the farmers, especially now that their numbers are so few in proportion to total population, have little political power to do so on their own. Moreover, an ideological attachment to "free enterprise" disarms many of them from joining with other segments of the population in a fundamental restructuring of agriculture, which would require an equally fundamental restructuring of the economy as a whole in violation of basic premises of "free enterprise."

## No longer an "agrarian" question.

In the "old days," socialists took a deep interest in agriculture if only from the political necessity of forging an alliance between labor and the majority of smaller farmers capable of effective opposition to capitalist power. Today there are



too few farmers remaining (all of them together comprise about 4 percent of the population, only 13 percent of the rural population) for a labor-farmer movement nationally. There are more professors, scientists and technicians in America today than full-time farmers.

The agricultural question in the U.S. is no longer an "agrarian" question centered in the movements of farmers. It is a society-wide question with no one center, but of vital concern to all sectors of the American people. At the same time, agricultural reorganization is possible only with the reorganization of the overall property-production system. It is therefore all the more revolutionary in its implications.

While the Lords Corporate and the predominant politicians pay little heed to farmers, they pay close attention to the organization and control of agriculture and the farmers. Socialists need to give at least as close consideration to agriculture, since it is crucial to the total economy, and in so doing pay greater attention to the smaller and middle farmers and rural inhabitants—actual and prospective—since without their support and participation there can be no eventual democratic and socialist agricultural reorganization.

Groups such as Rural America, the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, the International Women's Conference, the Institute of Southern Studies have already begun to propose programs

for altering American agriculture, rural life, and food delivery systems. Whatever else, these programs implicitly, often explicitly, challenge corporate control over the nation's land and food. All of them center upon restoring a diversified, less energy-addicted, family farm to the center of America's agricultural system as the most efficient economic unit and as most conducive to a democratic agricultural and rural life.

They point to the conclusion, ironic though it may be, that a land system taken out of the "free market," a publicly controlled price, investment, and retail system implemented by the cooperative action of Americans in tandem with local, state, and federal government programs subject to popular democratic control—in short, socialism—is the most effective guarantee of the survival and revitalization of the family farm.

The special section on agriculture in the last issue (Dec. 21) and the ongoing coverage resumed with this issue are intended to draw attention to the important role that agriculture must have in socialist approaches to the reconstruction of American society. We wish to encourage and contribute to a growing dialogue among socialists and between socialists and others on American agriculture and its relation to American society in general. We will have more to say on specific programs and problems in future stories and editorials.

See recommended readings, page 8.



# Letters

## The Stone rolls on

Editor:

The various eulogies predicting the end of *Rolling Stone* (inside story, *ITT*, Dec. 6, 1977) usually aren't worth a response, but I respect your publication and find myself embarrassed when you turn insipid.

First, what magazine is as interesting as it was five years ago? Nixon made us all look like geniuses. He even made the *dailies* interesting, which is well nigh impossible. When you compare us to the various possibilities, *Rolling Stone* remains one of the most interesting and least predictable publications around.

I don't know much about the music side of the magazine, so it would be inappropriate for me to comment on that. But you accuse us, and particularly me, of being Carter administration sycophants. I did write a favorable article about Jordan and Powell—and still feel they would be responsive to pressure from the left if there were one to respond to. Unfortunately, though, the left has withered more profoundly than *Rolling Stone* (interesting that your put-down of my "Whiz Kids" piece was the first criticism I've gotten from the left—in the old days, it would have occasioned a shit storm). Second, you neglect to mention my subsequent story about the Carter administration deliberately crushing solar energy programs that would make giant public utilities near-obsolete by 1990.

During the past year, Howard Kohn has done the toughest and most consistent reporting on the nuclear industry. I could list other things we've done, but that would be tacky.

Perhaps your frustration drove you to attack us as a symbol for a generation's inadequacies. These are hard times. And putting down *Rolling Stone* for not existing in a vacuum is petty and inaccurate.

—Joe Klein  
Associate Editor,  
*Rolling Stone*

## A correction and some good news

Editor:

I was gratified to read "Housekeepers Move to Unionize" (*ITT*, Nov. 30, 1977) and to see mention of my legislation extending labor rights to household workers. Unfortunately, I did not see my name since it evidently fell off after paste-up.

More important, readers might be interested to learn that the Morrisania Community Corporation housekeepers will have a representational election on Jan. 5. The National Labor Relations Board has ordered the corporation to agree to a bargaining unit including all full-timers and part-timers who work four or more hours a week. This means that virtually all the housekeepers are eligible to vote. The January election will take place despite attempts by the City of New York to influence the NLRB against the housekeeper union drive.

We hope that the precedent set by the Morrisania housekeepers will encourage unionization of household workers nationwide.

—Seymour Posner  
Member of N.Y. State Assembly

## Befuddlement

Editor:

Joshua Dressier is just terrible. I've never read anybody who manages to raise so many important questions while trivializing them at the same time. With regard to the "public that is genuinely concerned about the danger of some speech, such as television violence" I

paraphrase Dr. Feelgood's prescription: Don't be dumb, just turn it off.

Sexual stimulation with a coke bottle has been an element of male (and to a lesser extent, female) clubhouse humor ever since the coke bottle was invented. Where the rapist got the idea of assaulting someone with it is, quite frankly, irrelevant. What is relevant is that he committed a very serious crime and should be punished appropriately.

I think there are times when a person's right to free speech can be hindered by others, and that is when that person's exercise of that right is a serious nuisance to specific other people, e.g., obscene phone calls, loud raucous parties in a residential neighborhood, etc. But, there never is a time when a person should be silenced because of imputed damage to the social order.

Speech is only culpable if it leads directly to specific criminal acts, and then it is relevant only as a way of documenting guilt.

Final sarcastic yet serious note: *ITT* is guilty of subliminal advertising. Dressler is just hustling for lawyers. Because if there weren't stupid restrictive laws, then we wouldn't need lawyers and they, and Dressler, would be out of work. This is all tolerated because those who control social relationships (Dressler's *society*) benefit by any restrictions on personal accountability and responsibility.

—John Grady  
Roxburg, Mass.

## Cuban robots?

Editor:

I suggest that Anita Diamant (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977) learn her fundamentals before she steps on the court again with another piece on basketball. She was impressed with the performance of the Cuban basketball team on their recent visit—even going so far as to claim, "The Cubans are socialist basketball incarnate!" I found them dull and mechanical.

She found herself rooting for the Cubans because of what they symbolized. I suggest she take a harder look at those symbols. For like other aspects of Cuban society, the Cuban basketball team is trained, coached and plays according to the Soviet model. Both styles of play are characterized by an emphasis on strength over finesse, a singular lack of imagination and spontaneity on the court and a restriction on the freedom of the players—or even the team—to create its own possibilities.

Soviet and Cuban play is diagrammed. The concept of 'team' is imposed on the players from without rather than developing from themselves and the flow of the game.

Their play has a stilted, confined, robot-like quality which is evident under any type of rules they play; American or International.

It is true that the Cuban style is symbolic, but I'm afraid it is to different referents than Diamant imagines.

—Alan Draper  
New York

## ...or just sloppy?

Editor:

After listening to Howard Cossell's coverage of the World Series, I thought I had witnessed the nadir of sports journalism. However, that was before I read Anita Diamant on the touring Cuban basketball team (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977). Not since Floyd Paterson promised to bring the heavyweight championship back to America and Christianity in his fight against Muhammed Ali has so much political nonsense been linked to as much athletic incompetence.

Fidel's Finest were defeated by the two college basketball teams against whom she saw them play. As someone whose understanding of socialism has been largely limited to economics and politics, and only occasionally extended to the arts and personal relations, I am not sure I know what socialist basketball really is.

Does the new revolutionary game require the elimination of the division of

labor in the old capitalist game between forwards, centers and guards so that a new unalienated socialist ballplayer can play-make in the first quarter, score in the second, rebound in the third, and block shots in the fourth?

Since the Cubans couldn't rebound or play defense, maybe Diamant has just confused socialist basketball with sloppy basketball. But that shouldn't surprise anyone because she also confuses socialism with one-man despotism.

—Stephen Silbiger  
Washington, D.C.

## Houston

Editor:

Karen Wellisch's article on the Houston conference (*ITT*, Dec. 6, 1977) fails to mention the issue that was raised by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and passed by a large majority.

The President and Congress should intensify efforts to:

(a) build, in cooperation with other nations, an international framework within which serious disarmament negotiations can occur;

(b) reduce military spending and foreign military sales, convert excessive weapons manufacturing capacity to production for meeting human needs;

(c) support peace education in schools and advanced study in the fields of conflict resolution and peace keeping.

—Evelyn Haas  
Philadelphia

## Hark the Herald angel

Editor:

While a picture may be worth a thousand words, an "Editor's note" in the letter column is often worth volumes. An example: the Editor's note in response to Maureen Mullarkey's letter expressing concern with your editorial appeal to "moral authority" (*ITT*, Dec. 6, 1977). You explain that "by moral authority we had in mind political leadership based on the public enunciation of principles and programs. Like Jefferson, Castro, Luxemburg, or maybe Lincoln, Lenin or maybe Paul Robeson. More like that." That's what you mean by moral authority? Oi. The "International" is not American in origin but there is an American version, the second verse of which says something about workers emancipating themselves, without gods, caesars or tribunes. More like that.

—Paul Breines  
Cambridge, Mass.

**Editor's note (Volume II):** Breines agrees with our statement, unless he disdains the idea of political leadership. When we speak of moral authority, we mean support for agreed upon principles and program. To achieve that, it is true, we do not need gods or caesars. But we do need Tribunes, News, Times, Guardians, Worlds, Calls and In These Times. Tribunes that enunciate principles and programs that can engage the criticism, participation and support of the people, whether they be publications, individual leaders, or organizations, will and should win moral authority.

## An arrogant put-down of arrogance?

Editor:

*ITT* almost always shows an admirable ability to present a balanced picture, to offer opposing points of view, to see the bad with the good, and vice versa.

Except when it comes to the American left. That you treat as if it were a monolith, as dominated by the approach of the Communist party as that party is by the Soviet Union.

John Judis' introduction to Saul Wellman's fine article on the Carrillo-at-Yale incident (*ITT*, Dec. 13, 1977) finally prompts this note.

Why does Judis insist that either those who blame the left itself for its historical failure are right, or those who see the failure rooted in the success of

American capitalism are right? There is truth in both positions.

Judis' suggestion that the left's response to Carrillo at Yale demonstrates the correctness of the first point of view, got my goat. His cavalier pronouncement that "all varieties of American socialists...denounced Carrillo with an arrogance conditioned by historical irrelevance," is contradicted by the article itself, written by a former Communist, now a member of the New American Movement (NAM).

I see an arrogance in Judis' introduction that is uncomfortably reminiscent of the arrogance he is criticizing. The left is filled with people like Wellman who are searching for an appropriate road to socialism in the U.S. When *ITT* insults these American socialists it does them and itself a great disservice.

—George Crivello  
Detroit

P.S. I am not, nor have I ever been...

## More Garson

Editor:

As an American socialist, I believe I have at least as much need for diversion as any ordinary newspaper reader. Please give us more cartoons, more crossword puzzles, and more humorous columns by Barbara Garson.

—Jean Boudell  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

## Viva Garson!

Editor:

Bob Ekland (Letters, *ITT*, Dec. 21, 1977) not only needs more sense of humor, he's wrong for resenting Barbara Garson's hilarious piece on recycling. If *ITT* only printed things we agreed with, it wouldn't be worth reading. I mimeographed copies of that piece when I first saw it two years ago, and must have mailed out hundreds of them—and our family is the most conscientious recycler in the whole town.

—Pete Seeger  
Beacon, N.Y.

## Socialist humor?

Editor:

Socialist humor:

Question: Is a leftwing person without a car a member of the walking class?

Answer: Yes. And also a member of the strolletariat.

—Marc I. Lowenthal  
Columbia, Mo.

## Clamshell

Editor:

A note to update and make a couple of corrections in your otherwise accurate article on the Clamshell Alliance Congress (*ITT*, Nov. 30, 1977). The Congress passed resolutions endorsing the J.P. Stevens boycott, the struggle of Australian environmentalists and unions against uranium mining, and expressed solidarity with the work and goals of the Mobilization for Survival. The nine-point resolution from the labor committee that your article said was referred to local groups for more discussion was approved by the congress and sent back to local groups. The feeling was that because it is an important political statement, it should also be discussed at length within the whole organization. The first point of the resolution reads, "The Clamshell Alliance resolves: To express active solidarity with the struggles of other working people in their fight for full employment, socially responsible jobs, decent health and safety conditions, democratic unionism, workplace organization, organizing the unorganized and for an end to sexism and racism in the workplace and the labor movement."

More and more people around here are reading *IN THESE TIMES*. Your coverage of nuclear power and other energy issues has been consistently excellent.

—Robin Read  
Portsmouth, N.H.



Barbara Ehrenreich

## Ehrenreich's Almanac

# Predictions for a new, improved year



Every year at this time a serious political columnist has the responsibility to assess the past year and make predictions for the next. The past year can be dealt with briefly: It was a time of deepening crisis, sharpening contradictions and heightening antagonisms. I can say with some confidence that during 1977 the issues became clearer than they had at any other time in the past 12 months.

For example, consider this [true] story from the International Women's Year Conference at Houston: A journalist approached the women streaming out of one of the buses bound for the "pro-family" country-conference. "What's the key issue?" asked the journalist. "Why did you come?"

"We're here," the pro-family women responded spiritedly, "to protest the Lebanese." Upon further questioning, the puzzled journalist discovered that they meant the *lesbians*. This clears up everything except what's going on in the Middle East, as seen from the southwest.

But to get on to the coming year. Here are my predictions, based on painstaking analysis:

- In tribute to the glories of homemaking, Phyllis Schlafly will spend one full day at home. In January she will begin negotiating with the networks to televise the entire day, which will include informal clips of her chatting with her maid and ironing her new J.P. Stevens sheets.
- The Chinese politburo will discover that the *Collected Works of Mao Tse Tung* is a clever forgery committed by Chiang Ch'ing. The actual *Collected Works* will be released shortly.
- UFO sightings will increase drastically. President Carter himself will report three sightings: two saucers and one moth-

er ship. George Meany will demand that all UFO's be shot down on sight with nuclear missiles, since they are known to contain "aliens" who are after U.S. jobs.

- In a new, get-tough stance towards South Africa, Andrew Young will propose banning South Africa from participation in all future international canasta tournaments.

- President Carter will not submit a proposal for National Health Insurance. Instead, he will establish a top-level Committee on Alternatives to Medical Care, to be headed up by his sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton, the well-known faith-healer. DSOC will express some disappointment, but will say it is too soon to judge the president's intentions.

- The Chinese Politburo will send a special team to Detroit to study U.S. methods of motivating the workforce.

- HEW head Joe Califano will propose a new compromise position on abortion funding: *partial* funding for *incomplete* abortions. Incomplete abortions, he will argue, are quicker and cheaper to perform. Senator Javits will herald this "blow for women's rights."

- Faced with continuing poverty and racism, Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. will organize a Vietnamese Liberation Movement. Some will attempt to escape in small boats off the coast of Catalina.

- Getting even tougher on South Africa, Andrew Young will propose banning the South Africans from all future participation in international roller-skating competitions.

- UFOs will attempt to land in Manhattan, but will fail to find a parking place. Mayor Koch will take the credit, accusing the UFOs of harboring would-be welfare recipients.

- A male contraceptive pill will be developed, but it will be recalled from the market when a report leaks out that one of the test mice at the National Institute of Health labs is suffering from an identity crisis.

- At President Carter's insistence, The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill will be re-written as a bill authorizing the construction of a special memorial plaque for Hubert Humphrey. DSOC and ITT will continue to support the bill, however, citing the estimated 12 temporary jobs which will be required for plaque construction.

- Feeling upstaged by Sadat's surprise peace initiative, Idi Amin will fly to Moscow to demand the release of Mrs. Brezhnev (who, according to a 1977 Soviet biography, is Jewish). Mrs. Brezhnev will refuse to comment on Amin's offer of asylum in Uganda, but President Carter will applaud his "courageous initiative" for human rights.

- Andrew Young will storm into the UN and demand South African exclusion from the Miss Universe contest. President Carter will insist he had no prior knowledge of this move.

- Echoing Italian CP leader Berlinguer's analysis that it is necessary to stabilize Italian capitalism prior to a transition to socialism, Spanish CP head Carrillo will announce that the first step in the Spanish Communist strategy is to stabilize the monarchy. King Juan Carlos will offer Carrillo a knighthood. American Eurocommunist fans will be confused as to how to apply the Spanish strategy to the U.S.

- In an effort to curb the development of terrorism, the Bonn government will close all West German universities, replacing them with voluntary Youth Camps, offering a four-year program of calisthen-

ics, parade drills and choral singing.

- Laetrile will be found to be psychoactive, inducing a high far superior to that of the best hash. A powerful alliance of right-wing fundamentalists and drug-wasted freaks will emerge, threatening both political parties. The Mafia will close in on the apricot orchards.

- The Voice of America will begin beaming punk rock into the Soviet Union, in the hope of precipitating an immediate political crisis.

- The definitive book about the '60s will be written—by an obscure astronomer from Bedford, Mass. The book will prove that the '60s, unlike any previous decade, actually lasted for 10.003 years.

- UFOs will land at last—in the grassy area around the Washington monument in Washington, DC. Secretary Califano will greet them by reading the residency requirements for welfare in the District of Columbia. Barbara Walters will interview them. Throngs of mystics will attempt to worship them. Irwin Silber will denounce them as a "bourgeois idealist illusion." Michael Harrington will offer to show them around Sweden. The UFOs will leave.

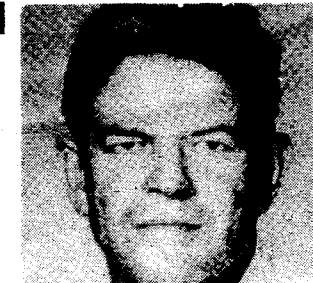
Meanwhile, the proportion of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will inexorably rise, the ozone layer will get thinner, the amount of arable land on earth will continue to shrink, nuclear stockpiles will mount in the U.S., the USSR, Israel, Brazil and South Africa, the number of people who suffer from chronic malnutrition will rise—and we will have one less year to do anything about it. Or, to be a little optimistic, one more.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.

Staughton Lynd

## Labor and the law

# Freedom of speech in the workplace



A Harvard Business School professor named David Ewing has published a book called *Freedom Inside the Organization: Bringing Civil Liberties to the Workplace* (E.P. Dutton: New York, 1977, \$10) which proposes the following workplace bill of rights:

**1. Freedom of speech.** "No organization or manager shall discharge, demote, or in other ways discriminate against any employee who criticizes, in speech or press, the ethics, legality, or social responsibility of management actions." But speech should *not* be protected when it "rails against the competence of a supervisor or senior manager to make everyday work decisions that have nothing to do with the legality, morality, or responsibility of management actions."

What if workplace speech does not "rail" against a supervisor's decision but cogently criticizes it? Mr. Ewing makes himself quite clear:

"Protection does not extend to employees who make nuisances of themselves or who balk, argue, or contest managerial decisions on normal operating and planning matters... Nor does the protection extend to employees who malign the organization. We don't protect individuals who go around ruining other people's reputations, and neither should we protect those who vindictively impugn their employers."

**2. Freedom of conscience.** An em-

ployee should be able to refuse to carry out an order he or she sincerely and reasonably believes to be unethical. "On the other hand, the boss should immediately be free to ask someone else to do the job."

**3. Freedom of association.** "So long as their activities do not cause palpable harm to the organization, [employees] should be free to buy whatever products and services they wish from whatever source; they should be free to work for political, community, and social causes of their own choice; they should be free to engage in whatever other outside activities satisfy them."

**4. The right to privacy.** Mr. Ewing explicates this area more in detail than any other. These are his guidelines for management's *collection and retention* of information:

A. Management can collect and keep in its personnel files only those facts about employees that are required by law or that are "necessary to manage operations."

B. Performance evaluations more than three years old must be weeded out of an employee's file.

C. Employees are entitled to know what information about them is on file and how it is being used.

D. An employee is entitled to see "most of the information" on file about him or her. An employee should not have access to "personal evaluations

and comments by other employees which could not reasonably be obtained if confidentiality were not promised." (Mr. Ewing appears to believe in informers.)

E. Employees' conversations (including telephone) and meetings may not be taped or monitored without their knowledge and consent.

F. An employer is not entitled to check up on an employee's absence by calling the employee's home and quizzing whoever answers the phone, or by sending an investigator to bird-dog the absentee.

G. Personality and general intelligence tests are not permissible. Here Mr. Ewing follows the thrust of *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971), requiring employer tests to be job-related.

H. In an employee's absence, mail addressed to him or her may be opened "only by a person in authority" and envelopes marked "Personal" may not be opened by anyone else in the organization.

I. "When an employee is away, his desk and personal office files may be opened only by someone in authority who is looking for specific items of information needed for operations." Mr. Ewing considers this right a functional equivalent of the Fourth Amendment, but he is wrong. By no stretch of the imagination can a senior manager

play the role of a detached third party like the magistrate who alone can issue a search warrant.

J. It is not permissible to use polygraphs ("lie detectors") or psychological stress evaluators, except with permission.

Mr. Ewing would also restrict management's use of information as follows:

A. No fact in an employee's file may be furnished to an outsider without the employee's consent or a court order. "In other words, the employer has a fiduciary relationship to the employee, much as a lawyer does to his client or a doctor to his patient."

B. Employee information should be divided into two categories: job-related and personal. An employee's supervisors can see only job-related data. Personal data may be seen only by "personnel officials."

C. No information about an employee may be destroyed without his consent.

I should like to invite readers to formulate a more adequate workplace bill of rights which unions might seek to include in their collective bargaining agreements.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His address is 1694 Timbers Court, Niles, OH 44446.



Arthur I. Waskow

# Sadat in Israel, and afterward

By Arthur I. Waskow

It is not often that you can see a whole society melt and take new shape before your eyes. I was in Israel from Nov. 13 to 23, to attend a conference on peace in the Middle East (called months ago by and Israeli magazine, *New Outlook*). I saw the transformation of Israel from grim despair, fear, and suspicion to careful hope.

The catalyst was, of course, the visit of President Sadat of Egypt.

Two stories, one from the "bottom" and one from the "top" of Israeli society:

Two days after Sadat had gone home, one of the American Jewish peace activists who had attended the conference was having dinner with conservative relatives in Tel Aviv. The family got to talking about Sadat.

Suddenly the wife turned to her husband and said, "I have never told you. Since our boy was six years old, I have cried myself to sleep every year on his birthday, because it brought him one year nearer to the army, to the war, to being killed. And while I was carrying the second one, I prayed every day that it should not be a boy."

The husband, his voice shaking: "But we have been married 14 years, and never have you said to me you felt this way!"

The wife: "There was no use. There was never any hope before that anything could change."

And from a hard-headed Israeli leader, Amnon Rubinstein, Dean of Law at Tel Aviv University: "When I try to put it into words, when I try to say out loud that the President...of Egypt...is coming to Knesset, to Jerusalem...to the capitol of Israel...my voice trembles."

## Sadat intervenes in Israeli politics.

In Israel, the Sadat visit not only opened up hope that peace is possible, but made that hope a potential political force. In the Knesset responses to Sadat, even though it was a moment when pressure for a show of unity before the world was very high, and even though Prime Minister Begin ignored the Palestinians, Shimon Peres (leader of the Labor party opposition and ordinarily no dove) mentioned the right of the Palestinians to "express their identity in a way that does not endanger the security of Israel—perhaps in association with Jordan, but that is not for me to say." This went further than the Labor leader would have been expected to go, toward opening up the possibility of real Palestinian self-determination in exchange for a secure peace.

But Israeli political sentiment is now poised on a knife-edge. If Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the PLO could unite around the Sadat platform—"full peace" for Israel within the 1967 boundaries, in exchange for Palestinian self-determination on the West Bank and Gaza—then a large political wave in Israel might push toward this position. Such a political wave would probably begin by wanting to go only part way. Such a stance would force Begin to move or resign, and if the Arabs were both united and firm upon the offer of "full peace," Israeli opinion would continue to shift.

But if the Tripoli line holds and Syria, the PLO, and other Arab states refuse to join negotiations, then Israeli opinion will relapse into its old fear, bitterness, and suspicion—but now these attitudes will be focused on Syria and the PLO, rather than "all Arabs." There are groups in Israeli society that want a comprehensive peace in which most or all of the West Bank is returned—either because these groups believe that any other kind of peace will be shaky and short, or because these groups believe that the West Bank will dilute the Jewishness of Israel. But these currents will be weakened, and those currents that want most of all to hold the West Bank and that will welcome the chance to make a separate peace with Sadat will be strengthened.

Of course Syria and the PLO are claiming that a separate Israeli/Egyptian peace was the inevitable result of the Sadat initiative. I do not agree. The Syrian response is making that a more likely outcome—but even now it need not be. The Syrians argue that Sadat got nothing for his gesture—but they are ignoring that he got a major shift in Israeli politics. Sadat moved past normal government-to-government diplomacy. In effect, he was "running for Prime Minister of Israel."

In these terms, Sadat did well. Abba Eban has predicted that by January there will be a political crisis in Israel over the West Bank issue. Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin, head of the moderate reformist *Dash* (Democratic Movement for Change) has publicly criticized Begin's continued hard line on the West Bank. So the potential is high for a hard fight inside the Israeli political system, and the formation of a centrist coalition of the liberals, *Dash*, and the Labor party that would be able to make peace.

## Begin intervenes in Arab politics.

While Sadat is trying to be clear enough to create a political crisis behind Begin, Begin is trying to be tough enough to create a political crisis for Sadat. The political crisis Begin wants is one in which Syria irrevocably breaks with Egypt and Egypt has to choose whether to make a separate peace with Israel, or to make war against Israel. Begin believes Egypt cannot choose war, and so will have to choose a separate peace.

So far, the Syrians have mournfully, but steadily, gone along with this scenario. They (and their Soviet friends) have ignored the openings in Israeli politics and focused on what Begin says. They cite his ignoring the Palestinians as the reason for their own rejection of Sadat's initiative—but this leads to a vicious circle: (a) Begin takes a hard line which (b) Syria and the PLO use as either a reason or a justification to take their own hard line, which (c) strengthens home-front support in Israel for Begin's hard line and (d) moves toward a separate peace between Egypt and Israel—exactly the motion that (e) strengthens Syria and the PLO in taking a hard line.

This vicious circle tends to strengthen the likelihood of a settlement that leaves the West Bank and Gaza under Israeli occupation. Such a settlement may be available in a separate Israeli/Egyptian peace, but not in a comprehensive peace. Indeed, Begin may very well have hoped that Syria and the PLO would isolate themselves from Sadat's initiative so that Sadat's only option would become a separate peace.

If so, Syria and the PLO are falling into his trap. They are doing so with such vigor that even Israelis who prefer a comprehensive peace are likely to wonder whether Syria and the PLO really want a comprehensive settlement themselves, even with Palestinian self-determination, or are hoping to prevent peace.

## The U.S. woos Syria.

The U.S. government was convinced even before the Sadat visit that Syria was the key to peace. Indeed, the U.S. government's coolness toward the Sadat initiative stemmed from President Carter's focus on involving Syria in the peace negotiations. The U.S. seems to have decided several months ago that U.S. influence in Egypt was at its zenith, that Egypt was ready to make peace, that even the PLO was close, and that the remaining stumbling block was Syria. Some PLO people have even claimed that it was the Syrian influence inside the PLO that has been important in preventing the PLO from publicly and clearly accepting the UN Resolution 242. (But PLO doves would have a vested interest in seeing or describing the world that way; so the claim should be taken with salt.)

The Syrian/Soviet relationship (along with the Carter administration's desire

to develop detente) would then explain why the U.S. felt it had good reasons to seek with the Soviets what became the joint U.S./Soviet statement. But as U.S. policy focused away from Egypt, Sadat grew restive. He told Israelis that the major reason for the timing of his proposal to visit Jerusalem was his unhappiness with the joint U.S./Soviet statement. Reciprocally, of course, the U.S. feared that an Egyptian initiative would infuriate Syria and the Soviets, inhibit the new American approach, and damage detente.

## Sadat offers Syria carrots, sticks.

What, then, about Egypt? First, is Sadat really after a separate peace—as Syria and the PLO fear? I think not. Such a peace would leave him utterly isolated from all the Arabs, even his main source of funds—Saudi Arabia. Even though the Egyptian people want peace, the politically active do not want to buy it at the expense of selling out the Palestinians and isolating Egypt. So Sadat has internal reasons as well as external to avoid a separate peace. I believe he is pursuing a subtler policy—separate negotiations but no separate peace. Sadat is trying stick-and-carrot politics on Syria and the PLO. The stick is the threat that he will make a separate peace—and toward the PLO, the threat that he will try to find other Palestinians for Israel to deal with. The carrot is his promise of getting Israel to agree soon on an over-all peace plan. Then, he hopes, Syria and the PLO would tacitly "fit into" it by negotiating with Israel on the aspects of the plan that concern each of them.

In short, Sadat has taken the burden of "going first"—hoping he can thereby get Israel to "go second" on the principle of Palestinian self-determination, whereupon Syria and the PLO can "go third"

on recognizing Israel. The crucial point will be whether any Egyptian offer of peace in exchange for the West Bank/Gaza, rather than an offer from Syria and the PLO, will be enough to trigger a major political debate inside Israel.

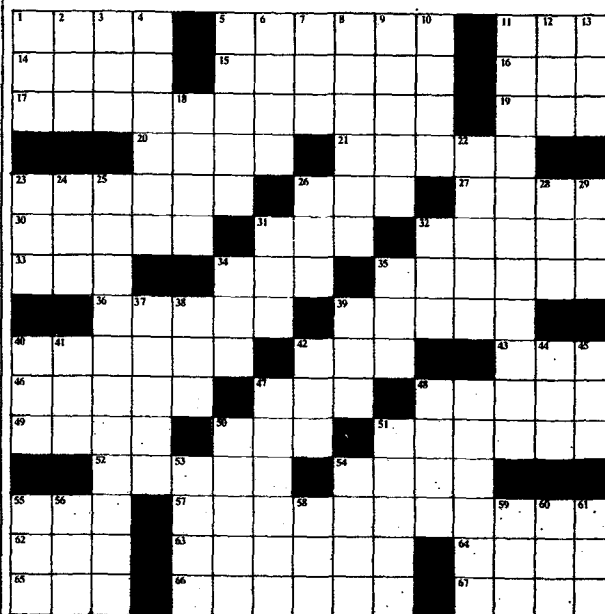
If not, and if Begin holds to a hard line in the West Bank, Sadat will have to decide whether to make a separate peace after all, or rejoin the other Arab states and threaten war. If Begin thinks Egypt cannot choose war, he will be strongly tempted to continue with a line so hard that Sadat has no carrot for Syria and the PLO, and is more isolated and forced to choose a separate peace. The race between Sadat to be clear enough to create a political crisis behind Begin, and Begin to be tough enough to create a political crisis for Sadat is an underlying reality at Cairo.

In order to make an offer of peace-for-the-West-Bank more credible in Israeli eyes, Sadat is holding out the possibility that if the PLO and Syria harden still more in refusing to negotiate, he can encourage the Palestinian people to use some new arrangements—other than the PLO—to express their self-determination. For example, elections in the West Bank, Gaza, and the Palestinian Diaspora—supervised perhaps by a special committee of the UN, or even by a special Arab grouping led by Egypt. But it is almost certain that before West Bank-Gaza Palestinians would agree to take part in such elections, they would have to be convinced that Israel had clearly offered and the PLO had clearly rejected, Palestinian self-determination on the basis of peace with Israel.

A longer version of this article was published by the Public Resource Center (1747 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009) of which Arthur I. Waskow is an associate.

## Naked, in chains

By David Mermelstein



### Across:

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_ Kenyatta
- 5 BLACK NATIONALISTS' NAME FOR 25 DOWN
- 11 \_\_\_\_\_ & the Family Stone
- 14 Sloping access
- 15 Claws
- 16 Farming implement
- 17 MARTYRED LEADER
- 19 Word in classified ad
- 20 French river
- 21 Make golfing standard again
- 23 Somewhat passe alternative to "people," in radical rhetoric
- 26 Burns' org., familiarly
- 27 Student evaluations: Abbr.
- 30 Woodwinds
- 31 Owls
- 32 \_\_\_\_\_ Litovsk
- 33 Little, in Caen
- 34 Fruit stone
- 35 More serious
- 36 Alexander and Peter
- 37 Resembling
- 40 California desert
- 42 "...to better \_\_\_\_\_ perch for the night..."

- 43 Hawaiian wreath
- 46 Author of *The Red Badge of Courage*
- 47 Gould or Rockefeller
- 48 More skillful
- 49 Nimble
- 50 \_\_\_\_\_ Hogan
- 51 Most depressed
- 52 Concerning the aesthetic realm
- 54 \_\_\_\_\_ and Civilization
- 55 Jacques' friend
- 57 RACIST PRIME MINISTER
- 62 CORPORATION WITH INVESTMENTS IN 25 DOWN
- 63 Condition of being fundamental
- 64 Ireland's former name
- 65 \_\_\_\_\_ Maria (liqueur)
- 66 Br. imperialist in Africa
- 67 Real estate document

### Down:

- 1 Between sophs. and srs.
- 2 Cereal grass
- 3 Fr. title of respect: Abbr.

### 4 THE COMMITTEE TO \_\_\_\_\_ BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA

- 5 One Hardy heroine
- 6 \_\_\_\_\_ Grey
- 7 Priestly vestment
- 8 Betes \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 Penned
- 10 Soaked: Poetic
- 11 SITE OF MASSACRE
- 12 Cut off
- 13 Eventually
- 18 Hastens
- 22 Tapestry
- 23 Thick mass of hair
- 24 \_\_\_\_\_ Beame
- 25 LAND OF APARTHEID
- 26 Chew the \_\_\_\_\_
- 28 Literary monogram
- 29 Type of ship: Abbr.
- 31 Word on towel
- 32 Bathing top
- 34 Can precede school or war
- 35 \_\_\_\_\_ Hall
- 37 Word in French toast
- 38 Relative of st. or rd.
- 39 Amount: Abbr.
- 40 2 x DCC
- 41 25 DOWN RICH IN THIS
- 42 \_\_\_\_\_ Smith, racist leader of Rhodesia
- 44 Scottish facial features
- 45 Alternative to BMT or IND
- 47 \_\_\_\_\_ Tull
- 48 Island near Timor
- 50 Soup
- 51 German breads
- 53 Slightly open
- 54 Bacchanals' cry
- 55 Fore's companion
- 56 Movie, in Roman numbers
- 58 Land of \_\_\_\_\_
- 59 Suit's complement
- 60 Before
- 61 Neck color

Solution next week.



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

# Environmental & mental pollution cause sickness

By Sander Kelman

**E**very year roughly two million Americans die. Of these, about 750,000—or over one-third—die of heart diseases; 350,000—or a sixth—of cancers; 200,000 of stroke (blood clots and hemorrhages in the brain); over 100,000 of respiratory diseases (especially pneumonia, bronchitis, emphysema and dust-inhalation-related lung diseases); 45,000 from motor vehicle accidents; over 40,000 in infancy; 40,000 from diabetes; and over 30,000 from cirrhosis of the liver. This very brief list accounts for over three quarters of all deaths.

Today's most common afflictions result from the adverse conditions of life and work to which people are subjected, but which under more supportive conditions, would either disappear altogether or appear much later in life. More to the point, today's afflictions come from two kinds of pollution.

Environmental pollution—both in the workplace and out—is the best known. The list of environmental abuses seems virtually endless and—because many chemicals currently in use are privately-held corporate secrets—unknown.

Among the known deadly effects, however, are asbestosis and lung- and organ-lining cancers of asbestos workers, black lung of coal miners, byssinosis among textile workers, bladder and liver cancers and reproductive and nervous disorders among chemical workers and workers with chemicals like agricultural workers, leukemia among people exposed

to large amounts of radiation, and a variety of respiratory disorders from auto exhaust and other pollutants in metropolitan areas.

In some recently published, color-coded maps of cancer "hot-spots," the highest rates of many types of cancer deaths, particularly female breast cancer, were concentrated in the metropolitan areas of the industrial Northeast. The National Cancer Institute, which produced the maps, says that 80 to 90 percent of all cancer results from "environmental additives."

### Emotional pollution.

Another, more insidious form of pollution leading to sickness might be called emotional pollution. Life in this country, for both working and middle class people, is overwhelmingly one of competition and insecurity. Fears of joblessness and career failure, as well as the inhumane nature of many work processes are now being identified as the cause of a variety of emotional and bodily ailments.

Prominent among those ailments is hypertension, commonly called high blood pressure. In 1965 a group of auto workers was studied—at the request of the United Auto Workers union—before, during and after a plant closing. As the time moved from announcement to closing to unemployment, blood pressures, blood cholesterol levels, "colds" and other respiratory infections, and emotional and family problems worsened significantly. The increase in blood pressure



Photos by Steve Cagan



## Progressive struggles in health over the next decade must move in the direction of requiring that life in this country be fit for human habitation.

found several months after the closing date was the same as that normally found in ten years of aging.

Chronic hypertension is the principal condition leading to heart diseases, stroke and kidney failure at the early ages at which they now occur.

Where the hypertensive effects of the nature of work itself has been studied, repetitive, time-pressured, and supervisor-controlled work has been identified as the most guilty.

Another consequence of living in a dog-eat-dog world is the search for escape. This leads to alcoholism, tobacco smoking, prescription and illegal drug-addiction, over-eating, thrill-seeking and the like. And from taking these "pain-killers" we get cirrhosis of the liver and motor-vehicle accidents, lung cancer, nervous disorders, obesity leading to "heart conditions" and diabetes, and "accidental deaths." Where all else fails, the ultimate pain-killer is suicide, with an annual reported toll of about 25,000 lives.

### Fit for living.

Though the space here allows for only the sketchiest description of this very complicated issue and its implications, it suggests that the "problem" in health is why people get sick and die in the first place. Obviously, this orientation should not detract from the campaigns for publicly-financed medical coverage for all or for a comprehensive National Health Service. But it does suggest that progressive struggles in health in the next decade should continue to move in the direction of requiring, by whatever means necessary, that life in this country be fit for human habitation.

Though more and more people are coming to see that sickness and death today are intimately related to the condi-

tions of life and work under corporate capitalism, this orientation has not yet become a force in public health policy. The medical profession, by and large, holds that disease today results from the past success of medicine. Because medical science conquered infectious diseases, it is argued, people live longer and therefore die of "chronic degenerative diseases"—heart diseases, cancers, stroke and kidney failure, "about which we do not yet know enough."

"But," continues Lewis Thomas, director of Memorial-Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, "the harvest of new information from the biological revolution of the past quarter-century is just now coming in, and we can probably begin now to figure out the mechanisms of major diseases which were blank mysteries a few years back as accurately and profitably as was done for the infectious diseases early in this century. . . It is simply a question at this stage of events of how much [money] we wish to invest. . . in science."

Moreover, Thomas regrets, "No agencies exist for the celebration of the plain fact that most people are, in real life, abundantly healthy."

Every step in this argument is wrong. First, with the exception of polio, infectious diseases (tuberculosis, scarlet fever, influenza, cholera, and typhoid) were not conquered by medicine. Rather, they were conquered by improvements in housing, sanitation, nutrition and municipal water supplies, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century.

Second, the fact that chronic diseases are now the main causes of death in the industrial world doesn't mean that they are somehow part of the human condition. They arise for identifiable reasons. Just as in the case of infectious diseases, chronic degenerative diseases will be conquered

only through social and environmental improvements.

### Corporate position.

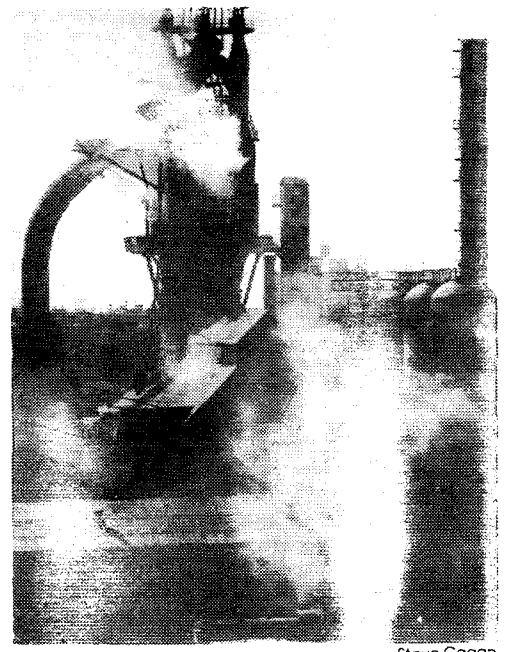
The corporate position—as enunciated through the "non-profit" educational institutions and a variety of academic theorists—is that people get sick and die from "what they do to themselves and don't do for themselves." They smoke too much, drink too much, eat too much (of the wrong foods), don't exercise and get enough rest. John Knowles, president of the Rockefeller Foundation and sponsor of much of this intellectual posturing, even goes so far as to say that we engage in too much sex.

The corporate position on occupational disease and injury follows the same formula—workers don't take the appropriate precautions or wear the appropriate safety gear. And where harmful environmental exposures are not avoidable by workers, we are told that those exposures are simply a cost of employment, diseases we cannot afford to do without.

Victim-blaming rhetoric is so widespread that it is virtually an article of faith in polite company, where it is known as "the individual responsibility for health."

Though there is much to be said for that responsibility, it must be recognized in the end that the pressures and conflicts in American life make it very difficult for most people to avoid a wide range of compulsive habits that are injurious to our health. Placing the burden of responsibility on individuals in these cases is more ideological than scientific.

The applications of this rhetoric are also alarming. In the case of working conditions, corporate physicians have argued that the problem of chemical exposure is not one of toxic chemicals, but rather



Steve Cogan

er one of susceptible individuals. Non-sterile women, for example, have been excluded from certain hazardous occupations even though there is evidence that men suffer damage from exposure to the same chemicals.

The rhetoric has laid the foundation for a tremendous propaganda campaign called "Health Education" to convince people that they have only themselves to blame. It is also one argument in justifying deferral of action on National Health Insurance as well as for the institution of a system of copayments by which even those with health insurance would have to pay a percentage (say 20 percent) of their covered medical expenses. This would, it is argued, be an incentive for people to conduct their lives in more healthy ways. Why should the self-disciplined among us have to pay taxes and insurance premiums to cover the medical expenses of the gluttonous, ask these ideologues.

But who *are* the gluttons? Those who today in 1977, 200 years past the Age of Enlightenment, must choose between their jobs and their lives, or those whose investment decisions require others to live under destructive conditions?

**Sander Kelman** is a teacher and writer on health affairs.

## Life is hard in Cancer Valley

By Jean Callahan  
Pacific News Service

**B**ELLE, W. VA.—It is called "Cancer Valley," and it has earned its nickname.

Situated in this steep valley within ten miles of Charleston, W. Va., are seven large chemical plants and several smaller ones, manufacturing hundreds of different products. The combined impact of their emissions (in a valley subject to frequent temperature inversions) is to create an alphabet soup of toxic compounds in the air.

People who live in Cancer Valley—formerly known as the Kanawha Valley—say the air is thick with chemicals, and they complain of bronchial pains, chronic coughing, vomiting and shortness of breath.

The National Cancer Institute reports that the Kanawha Valley has one of the highest incidences of lung cancer, kidney cancer and leukemia in the U.S. There are disproportionately high rates of throat cancer, face cancer and an extremely rare form of eye cancer.

The National Center for Disease Control reports that a high rate of birth defects of the central nervous system in Kanawha Valley may be related to pollution from the chemical plants, which include Union Carbide, American Viscose, Monsanto, FMC, Diamond Alkali, Allied Chemical and DuPont.

Kanawha Valley plants emit over 128 different chemical compounds. Thirty-nine of these are rated highly toxic by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 12 are known or suspected to be carcinogens (cancer-causing), 29 act as irritants, four have been found to induce gene mutations and one has been linked to birth defects.

Ed Light, a scientist who works for the West Virginia Citizens Action Group in Charleston, recently published a report listing known health hazards for almost 200 chemicals emitted by the plants. Light says even this list is conservative, because "it is so difficult to relate a specific human cancer case to any one environmental factor. The disease may not occur until up to 30 years after the initial exposure."

### Virtually no regulation.

Kanawha Valley, which runs about a mile wide and 76 miles along West Virginia's Kanawha River, is home to nearly a quarter of a million people. Some are coal miners and small truck farmers, but almost half the valley residents work in the chemical plants.

The workers are mostly unorganized. Since the 1940s when union organizing led to violence, there has been little labor activity here. Most workers say they fear a tight economy more than health hazards; for many, the risk must be taken in order to work.

Last year congressional hearings looked into the high-level emissions of nitrosamines (the most deadly family of carcinogens) in Cancer Valley. The West Virginia Air Pollution Control Commission also expressed concern about hazardous chemical emissions there. But despite their potentially lethal nature, there is virtually no government regulation of these emissions. And no federal investigation and no amount of local concern has had much impact yet on life in Kanawha Valley.

Earl McCune, 45, has worked at the DuPont plant here in Belle, in the heart of the valley, since he graduated from high school. At last year's congressional hearings McCune documented the cases of 54 of his co-workers who had devel-

oped cancer from 1972 to 1976. Over half of the men on McCune's list had also died in that period.

McCune described lax safety procedures and criticized DuPont's medical records system. He also testified that DuPont's 1,600 workers at the Belle plant had only one source of drinking water: a pipe bringing in water from the Kanawha River just 500 feet from where DuPont dumped chemical wastes from the plant.

Louis Gross, another DuPont worker, testified that he had contracted eye cancer, had his eye and half his face removed in surgery and was undergoing chemotherapy and was unable to work. Gross told the congressional panel how he lived on \$90 a week disability retirement, paying most of his medical bills because DuPont had appealed a favorable ruling he received from the Workmen's Compensation Board.

At the hearings Joseph Finklea, director of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), promised to study the cancer cases at the Belle plant. In February DuPont refused NIOSH access to medical and personnel records; NIOSH is currently suing for right to access.

Since last year's congressional hearings and Finklea's promise, there have been at least 15 new cases of cancer reported at the Belle plant.

### Complacent community.

But chemical workers are not the only Kanawha Valley residents with health problems that may be related to the plant emissions.

Don Wilson, a 40-year-old high school teacher in South Charleston, recently formed a group called SURVIVAL to organize Valley residents to protect their

health. Wilson had become concerned about the high rate of absenteeism at Stonewall Jackson High School where he teaches.

"The kids are constantly coughing in the classrooms and the levels of absenteeism are extremely high," Wilson says. "These recurring bronchial 'diseases' should really be called 'injuries.' I'm convinced that the plants are what's making these kids sick."

Wilson, his wife, his 17-year-old son and his 12-year-old daughter have all suffered from bronchial problems since 1974. A year ago his daughter's problems were finally diagnosed as chlorine bronchitis; unusual amounts of chlorine and sulphur were found in her bloodstream. Wilson has also been hospitalized with bronchial attacks.

But although he personally has talked with over 50 people who have suffered from bronchial injury from breathing the air in Kanawha Valley, he has found few willing to actively protest. Local doctors are reluctant to diagnose diseases as caused by chemical emissions, he contends. Even the local Cancer Society, Wilson claims, protects its corporate funding by not speaking out.

After 20 years of living in Kanawha Valley Don Wilson now plans to move out.

Earl McCune fears he will lose his job because of his congressional testimony.

And Louis Gross, a year after his own testimony, has suffered a relapse. He has been hospitalized twice, once in Charleston and once at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. He is again living at home, and still waiting for a determination of his workers' compensation benefits.

**Jean Callahan** is a Washington-based free-lance writer.



## SPORTS

# Profit still rules TV boxing

By Joe Heumann

Last May this reporter described the controversy surrounding ABC's efforts to bring boxing to television (IN THESE TIMES, May 25, 1977). In doing so, some facts about CBS' involvement in the fight game came up. It appeared that the network had exclusive TV contracts with three Olympic gold medalists, Leon and Mike Spinks and Howard Davis.

The Davis connection came up recently during a congressional investigation into network sports programming. CBS explained that it had an exclusive contract with Davis in which it paid Davis \$200,000 a fight. Davis, in turn, was allowed to choose his own opponents, paying them out of his share. Network officials admitted that this arrangement was perhaps questionable, adding that they were trying to renegotiate.

Nothing came up about the connection between the Spinks brothers and CBS, but that may have been because the committee was not into pressing the issue. Several Representatives admitted that more questions could have been asked, but said that the purpose of the investigation was to allow the networks to clean up their own act without the help of rude government regulators. All they wanted was contrition, which they got by the bucketful.

I had guessed that a network like CBS would have few qualms about sacrificing any of these men at the earliest possible moment—in exchange for an audience, of course. It looks like this is what's in store in February when Leon Spinks is scheduled to fight Muhammad Ali.

Spinks, a young, untutored heavyweight of some potential, has a 7-0-1 record. The fight against Ali was arranged after Spinks fought Alfredo Righetti Nov. 18.

That fight was a boring ten round affair. It showed that Spinks was energetic, but lacking in the finer skills that come with experience. He clearly was in need of further seasoning. This novice now has the honor of doing his post doctoral research at the hands of a very distinguished professor of the sweet science.

CBS will probably play up the fight, giving it the Rocky twist. It's certain to be profitable. Ali usually fights the full 15 rounds, guaranteeing a full night of advertising at very substantial rates. If Spinks should win, there is a guaranteed rematch, and even more gold.

But Ali isn't likely to lose. The fight will provide him some breathing room, while preparing him for his final \$12 mil-



The recent Muhammad Ali/Ernie Shavers fight drew 50 percent of the TV audience. Above, Shaver and Ali before the fight.

lion fight with Ken Norton. Spinks will receive a lesson in the art of self defense, will get his puss jabbed off, and will get lots of glorious exposure.

Though it may be a good lesson for Spinks, where will he go from there? Where does one go after fighting for all the marbles? Not back to unknown hack fighters. Perhaps it will be Ernie Shavers, or maybe Jimmy Young, Ron Taylor or Ken Norton. At any rate, his future career may be short and brutal unless he learns some quick lessons.

The Rocky theme has been getting a lot of play lately. NBC tried it with the Ken Norton-Duane Bobick fight awhile back, matching a white hope against a top ranked challenger. Theme music from the movie was blared around, there were interviews with the stars of the movie, we were shown how the movie's fight scene was staged, and then came the real fight.

Not having read the script, sometime movie star Norton (*Mandingo*, *Drum*) went out and polished off the hopeful in less than one round, with no more than four punches. TV executives were agog.

Ad men were irate.

Then there was the Ali-Shavers fight; it showed a number of things. The most important one lay in the Nielson ratings. Ali drew 50 percent of the TV audience that night, the best ever for a boxing event.

Though old and gray, Ali's declining years prove that he has style mixed with plenty of guts. He takes a good hard punch, which Shavers can deliver. (It's no mistake that Norton, Young and Foreman avoided Shavers for all these years. He's still the hardest puncher in the game and he proved it against Ali.)

Ali, of course, invented the idea that fighters are not supposed to be hit. So whenever he was punched (and it happens with more frequency than in the past) commentators were astounded, but Ali took it.

Ali's evolution as a fighter still makes him the great draw. People are genuine-

ly amazed at him, and whatever the reasons—love, frustration, hatred or respect—crowds will still watch this man fight.

So as Leon Spinks gets welcomed to the big leagues, what else can we expect from TV? Will his younger brother, Mike, be pushed into a fight with a light heavyweight contender? Will Howard Davis lose his good sense and push his luck too soon against too tough an opponent?

Big bucks are being tossed around. If it costs one contender his career to boost the weekly ratings, so be it.

The fight game and the spectator, of course, do suffer in the end as men like Spinks are used for ratings fodder, rather than allowed to mature into the first-rate boxers they have a chance to become. ■

Joe Heumann teaches at Eastern Illinois University. He does say that there will be a great fight this January—on CBS—between lightweight champion Roberto Duran and Esteban DeJesus.

## Pot Happy

Continued from page 24.

they suggest that smoking will urge it on to new highs.

Indeed, in a political strategy seminar, one NORML activist reported that a feasibility study done in Kentucky showed that the state's tobacco farmers could augment their income by growing cannabis, and thereby get the money now streaming south of the border. The farmers liked this, he asserted.

NORML's constituents seem not only resigned to this absorption into the mainstream but positively jubilant about it: during Copetas' slide show, he drew the loudest applause of all with a slide showing a peasant dwelling that was, he said, "full of coke" for export. Few seemed to notice that the dwelling was a shack, and the people in its doorway obviously poor.

California State Representative Willie Brown put his finger on what was happening in his keynote speech at the conference's opening dinner session. Reflecting on the opposition of black ministers in the District of Columbia to a decriminalization bill that passed the D.C. City Council and was then vetoed by Mayor Walter Washington, Brown said "the plain

truth is that blacks are too Americanized to be on the cutting edge of any social issue except civil rights, because that's never been what America's been about."

Hunter Thompson, *Rolling Stone's* walking-flying mouthpiece of doped-up decadence, spoke of growing acceptance, even complacency about pot. "There is this sense around the country that the war is over," Thompson declared, reporting on his efforts to raise money for NORML among his turned-on constituents. "What they're asking me about now is, when are we going to legalize cocaine?"

What could be done to re-energize the decriminalization drive? Thompson's suggestion was characteristic: "More people should be arrested," he shouted. "I think this business of getting people out of jail is insane. Our support is from the fearful and the doomed. That's why I'm here, goddammit! And where can I get a beer? I'll pay \$5 for a beer. Even a Billy beer would do."

Gary Trudeau couldn't have said it better.

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.

## Abe Garbanzo's NBA All-Star Picks

Because of the shameful performance of frenzied ballot-stuffing fans, I've been forced to take pen in hand to arouse support for those players who genuinely deserve the honor.

—Abe Garbanzo

### WESTERN DIVISION

#### Center

First Choice: Bill Walton, Portland

Second Choice: Artis Gilmore (with Alvan Adams a close third), Chicago

#### Forward

First Choice: Maurice Lucas (despite a slow start), Portland

Second Choice: Rick Barry, Golden State

Third Choice: Adrian Dantley, Los Angeles

Fourth Choice: Bobby Jones, Denver

#### Guard

First Choice: David Thompson (though he's not really a guard), Denver

Second Choice: Paul Westphal, Phoenix

Third Choice: George Gervin, San Antonio

Fourth Choice: Lionel Hollins, Portland

### EASTERN DIVISION

#### Center

First Choice: Moses Malone, Houston

Second Choice: Bob McAdoo, New York

#### Forward

First Choice: Julius Erving, Philadelphia

Second Choice: Truck Robinson, New Orleans

Third Choice: Billy Knight, Buffalo

Fourth Choice: Elvin Hayes, Washington

#### Guard

First Choice: Pete Maravich, New Orleans

Second Choice: Doug Collins, Philadelphia

Third Choice: Randy Smith, Buffalo

Fourth Choice: Kevin Porter, New Jersey



# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## Records



Ken Preston

### FRED HOLSTEIN: CHICAGO AND OTHER PORTS

Fred Holstein  
(Philo)

An early issue of *IN THESE TIMES* printed a lament (by a west coast writer) on the decline and fall of folk music in the U.S. There followed a rash of indignant letters of dissent, but most aficionados were ready to concede that while the genre may be as immortal as the folk, singing it is no longer a way to make one's living.

Living proof to the contrary is Fred Holstein, who has just put out his first record, subtitled *Chicago and Other Ports*, produced on the Philo label by Earth Audio Techniques in North Ferrisburg, Vt.

Holstein has been making a living singing folk songs, new and old, traditional and/or topical to his own unamplified guitar accompaniment for an impressive number of years, most of the time in Chicago. He and his brother Ed own one of the pubs on Chicago's Folk-song Alley (North Lincoln Avenue)—an unpretentious establishment called *Somebody Else's Troubles*, known to its patrons simply as *Troubles*.

Seven nights a week the place is full of people interested in convivial drinking, minimal eating and live music. All kinds of singers perform on the "stage"—a four-by-seven-foot platform raised hardly a foot off the floor. But the resident bard is Fred Hol-

stein, and more and more of late he is the main attraction.

Considering the kind of competition brother Ed books in, that says something about Fred's stature. During the last year *Troubles* has presented for one, two or even three-night stands such headliners as Bruce ("Utah") Phillips, Rosalie Sorels, Claudia Schmidt, Jim Post, Tom Paxton, Mike Seeger, Malvina Reynolds and that great 85-year-old singer/songwriter, Elizabeth Cotton ("Freight Train, Freight Train"). The list is much much longer, of course, and should include unscheduled appearances by drop-in guests like Earl Robinson, composer of "Joe Hill," "Ballad for Americans" and "The Lonesome Train."

Holstein has listened to and learned from all these people. And he is still learning—learning new songs, although his repertoire is staggeringly complete, and learning new refinements and dimensions of his craft.

He is not a flashy performer. He has a good, resonant, flexible baritone, and good enough diction to give the lyrics their due. The song always stands well out in front of his personal contribution. But if there is a right and a wrong way to sing something, Fred Holstein sings it the right way.

It must have been hard to pick ten out of the thousands of songs Holstein knows for this, his first album. Any *Troubles* regular can make up a "top ten" that would please him or her more, but on the whole this isn't a bad selection.

There are traditional songs about miners, sailors and hobos; some love songs (one by Utah Phillips about Big Bill Haywood and his wife, Nevada Jane); another Utah Phillips song about the old West; a sentimental ballad about old and destitute drifters on the streets of London (which could just as well be about North Lincoln Avenue); a not very good song of Woody's about Chicago; and a smashing dramatic number by Jacques Brel about old Amsterdam.

Missing are the classics—the "old chestnuts"—that Holstein sings when he has a night off from the *Troubles* to make an appearance at a union rally or a benefit for a community organization, or a school, or an independent alderman's campaign, or *IN THESE TIMES*. That's when he is most clearly and profoundly in the mainstream of folk music, building the ice-berg size audience of which only the peak shows nightly at the pub.

Utah Phillips, who is something of an authority on the roots and the function of folk music, says in his rambling cover notes to *Fred Holstein*:

"The most radical idea in America is the long memory. School busing in Chicago? Fred sings, 'If you can't find me at the back of the bus...' and there you are."

"The past and the present become one and the future is yours to choose. The people come, they listen, they leave with a better vision of themselves and the world they go back to."

—J.S.

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—Studs Terkel

### NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Alan Wolfe looks at Carter's tax policy; John Judis on G. William Miller, Carter's choice to replace Arthur Burns; an exclusive interview with journalist Wilfred Burdett; Diana Johnstone and

Cedric Belfrage report on the Argentinian horror; Gerard Chaliand and Robert Manning on Ethiopia; and a new sports column by Anita Diamant.

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# Records



Peter Godwin, Duncan Browne and Sean Lyons of Sire label's Metro.

## Metro: a delicate, complex music with mordant observations on sexuality.

**METRO**  
Metro  
(Sire)

A blend of Art Deco sensibility and rock energy, this album showcases an English group that treads the line between sinister and fey with ominous elegance.

If Oscar Wilde were still alive, he'd hire Metro for a house party: The three principals—Duncan Browne, Peter Godwin and Sean Lyons—combine a delicate, complex music with mordant observations whose focus is sexuality.

"Mono Messiah," "Flame," "Jade," "Criminal World"—song after song deals with the intensity and brevity of desire, and vocalists Browne and Godwin bemoan the inability to connect while celebrating the passion of the moment and the nostalgia that may be its only result.

"Mono Messiah" encapsulates the decadent, lovely drift of this album:

*I'm the Mono Messiah  
of your stereo desire  
baby you pulled my shipwrecked star  
back together  
baby tonight our star is rising  
forever  
oo it had to come*

And it has to go, too. The song plays images of masculine thrust against those of feminine openness, with intriguing connotations of technology: stereo took over from mono long ago.

The lyrics are ambivalent, the message ambiguous and provocative. But the music is luminous, of a Spanish/Elizabethan texture: string choirs are muted by acoustic guitars, and over all hover the breathy, subliminally sensual voices.

*Metro* transmits the feeling of early Donovan, filtered through the ironic sensibility of Bryan Ferry. The melodic fragments insinuate themselves into your mind; the lyrics come later. But above all, the album sounds beautiful.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
Tom Waits  
(Asylum)

Barroom bard Tom Waits is back in all his glory with the recent release of *Foreign Affairs*. For those drawn to his beefy lust for legs and liquor, there are better Tom Waits albums. But if you've noted his poetic genius and have anticipated its imminent culmination, you may well have it here.

His phlegmatic vibrato is now applied to a generally more allegorical collection of lyrics on *Foreign Affairs*, presented with relative gentility. While this might further baffle the *Billboard* magazine types who yearn to place

Waits in some kind of "category," it can only soothe those who miss genuine artistry in today's sea of styrofoam musical verse, i.e., filler.

There are even indications that he harkens to the pre-hip "beat" generation. Witness "Jack & Neal," a multi-metered tale obviously drawn from the legendary westward journey of Kerouac and Cassidy as described by the former in his book *On the Road*.

There's also "Potter's Field," an eight-and-a-half minute ballad that is more spoken than sung. With the eerie drone of winds and horn accompanying, a drunk spills the beans on a fugitive thug called Nightstick. Waits' rising and ebbing voice and verse could enrapture anyone from the avant of the East Village to pop-eyed Boy Scouts huddled around a campfire as he relates:

*He was in a wreckin' yard  
in a switchblade storm  
in a wheelbarrow with nothing  
but revenge to keep him warm,  
and a half a million dollars in  
unmarked bills  
was the Nightstick's blanket in  
a February chill...*

Waits fans know that the man can be funny, but he can also present melancholy with stunning sensitivity, as in "Muriel,"

*...and Muriel I see you on a Saturday night  
in a penny arcade with your hair  
tied back  
and the diamond twinkle in  
your eye  
is the only wedding ring I'll ever  
buy you, Muriel.*

There's still a bit of the Waits we've come to know, love and declare delightfully insane in "Barber Shop." It's another float down the stream of consciousness *a la* "Pasties and a G-String," this time in a barber's chair instead of a burley.

Bette Midler steps into the studio to share vocals on "I Never Talk to Strangers." The contrast proves positive. In fact, Midler's sweet tones even rub off on Waits as they break the ice with one another in a lonely tavern.

*Foreign Affairs* is not a radical departure for Tom Waits, but it reflects a sharpening of composition and arrangement that is not found on *Small Change* and other recent albums. Instrumentation is cleaner, orchestration is more evident, but there's still nothing much on *Foreign Affairs* to distract the listener from the ample substance of the disc, which is found in the blue-collar boozier himself.

I've seen otherwise open-minded people buckle at the sound of his painfully coarse voice, but that is their misfortune. He hasn't always sung that way; he merely *made it* that way. He's doing better than ever.

—Bob Datz

Bob Datz is a free-lance writer in Cleveland.

## Rory Block's voice is a pure pulsating instrument.

**INTOXICATION**  
Rory Block  
(Chrysalis)

This is a joyous album, an original mixture of Motown and Stax rhythm and blues basics translated into an upbeat, mature whole.

Block has listened long and hard to Martha and the Vandellas, the Miracles, Carla Thomas, early Aretha. She's assimilated these influences and managed to transform them in her own voice, a pure, pulsating instrument that swings effortlessly over a band featuring Little Featers Bill Payne and Sam Clayton and veterans of various Van Morrison aggregations.

Although the songs certainly have a beat, the feeling has the caress of sophisticated pop rather than the aggressiveness of rock. Even on the slow "Boredom Is Sadness" and "You Can Lie With a Straight Face," the pain is muted and elegant, not abrasive.

Block is taking off from where

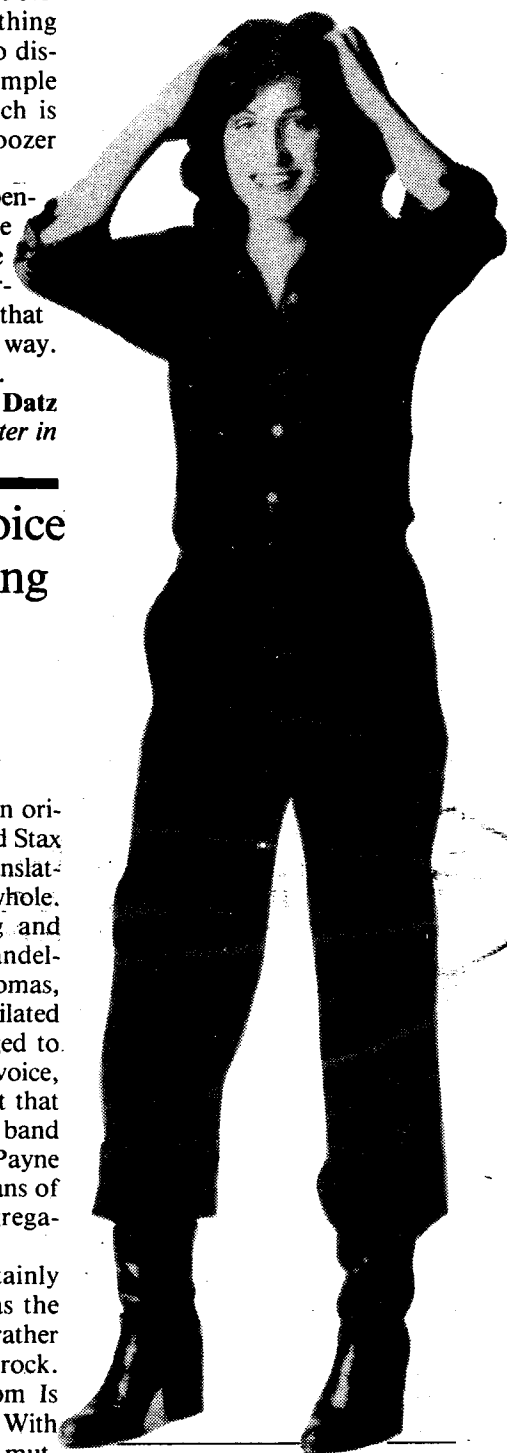
Bonnie Raitt seems to be stuck: a personal vision of romance and femininity, underscored by an R&B format, layered arrangements, more emphasis on rhythm than melody and an overriding, emotive vocal.

It's hard to pick the standouts. The more one listens, the more uniformly excellent the album seems. The ballads become ever more intimate; the uptempo tunes more and more engaging.

Though there's pain and sorrow in these personal tunes, there is also courage and directness. And the album communicates—with pleasure.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff edits a newspaper in Burlington, Vt., and reviews records for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Rory Block

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## BOOKS

# Innocence is not always the issue

**THE INNOCENCE OF JOAN LITTLE: A Southern Mystery**  
By James Reston Jr.  
New York Times Books, \$12.50

Alexander Berkman, standing trial (with Emma Goldman) in the 1920s for the attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick during the Carnegie steel strike, boldly told the court that his act could:

"...not be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend, or palliate, my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather an explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial."

A half century later, another radical named Jerry Paul voiced related concerns about the American legal system:

"The courtroom is the worst place to raise political issues. The state is in control. The court is the instrument of social control. Yet the public seems to be attracted to court cases, and historically, the movement or the Left has used the courtroom to demonstrate abuses."

Paul should know what he is talking about. He led a defense team of seven attorneys and a jury selection team of 30 psychologists and sociologists that successfully represented Joan Little in 1975.

Little, a young black woman from rural, eastern North Carolina, was charged with first degree murder—a capital offense—in connection with the ice-pick stabbing death of an elderly white man, Clarence Alligood, in her Beaufort County, N.C., jail cell. Alligood, the lone night jailer, was found dead, naked from the waist down, with semen stains on his thigh, in Little's empty cell.

Throughout the five week trial, which was moved to Raleigh, N.C., the defense team seemed to

accept the philosophy of Alexander Berkman, explaining rather than defending the actions of Joan Little, whom, they said, was defending herself against an armed sexual assault. The jury evidently agreed, returning a verdict of not guilty after deliberating just over an hour.

One problem with the "revolution means never having to say you're sorry" school of legal defense is that, if not handled properly, it can lead to a lot of time behind bars, as in the case of Inez Garcia, a chicana woman in California who was convicted of second degree murder (later reversed, retried and acquitted) in 1975. Garcia told the court that she was glad that she had killed a man who had helped to rape her, that she would do it again and regretted only that she was unable to also kill the man who did the actual raping.

Even Patty Hearst pointed out to a friend just after her capture that telling the truth about her politics (at that time) in court "creates all kinds of problems for me in terms of defense."

But in the case of Joan Little, the strategy worked, both for Little and the various support groups—black, feminist, prison, leftists—with broader concerns. As Celine Chenier of the Joan Little Defense Committee put it:

"America is not used to hearing blatant truth in the courtroom...but Inez did it. Ruchell Magee...did it... I think a lot more will speak out. If you're not even going to admit testimony in these cases about the rage and emotional trauma that a woman experiences with rape, what do you expect?"

The comments of Chenier, like those of Jerry Paul, come from *The Innocence of Joan Little: A Southern Mystery* by James Reston Jr. The book is made up of 15 extended interviews conducted by the author (who covered the trial) in the months following the verdict. Unfortunately the interviews



Two weeks before *The Innocence of Joan Little: A Southern Mystery* was published, Joan Little, distraught at the loss of work release status and refusal of parole, escaped.

are presented uncritically, neither weighted nor qualified on the basis of the veracity of the subjects, most of whom have tended either to enlarge their role (in the case of Little's supporters) or lie (in the case of her detractors).

Two weeks before the book was published, Joan Little—distraught at the loss of work release status and imminent refusal of parole—climbed over the fence of the North Carolina

Correctional Center for Women, where she had been serving the remainder of a 7-10 year sentence for breaking and entering, the charge which originally landed her in the Beaufort County jail. At this writing, she is still a fugitive.

**Mark Pinsky** covered the Joan Little case for *New Times*, the *New York Times* and *Reuters*, among others. He is now at work on a book on justice in the New

South.

**Editor's note:** Before the above was set in type, Little was arrested in New York, where she is now in jail, fighting extradition to North Carolina on grounds that she fears extra-legal harassment as well as an additional sentence. Inmates in New York's Riker's Island prison have signed a petition on her behalf, asking that she be permitted to finish her time in New York.

## Ex-terrorist Begin, a realist in politics

**Begin devised the strategy that made Irgun a feared force and a key factor in Britain's leaving.**

**TERROR OUT OF ZION: The Violent and Deadly Shock Troops of Israeli Independence, 1929-1949.**

By J. Bowyer Bell  
St. Martin's Press, 1977, \$13.95

Current events in the Middle East have made J. Bowyer Bell's recent book, *Terror Out of Zion*, a work of much more than academic interest. Bell, who is a stu-

dent of political terrorism, has written a history of the violent groups that prepared the way for the birth of the state of Israel. Its significance today is enhanced by the fact that the leader of the most important of these "terrorist" groups, Menachem Begin, is currently leading the state of Israel in an attempt to reach a peace agreement with its Arab neighbors.

What does the history of the Israeli underground tell us about Begin?

In 1943, when he took over, Irgun Zvai Leumi was a faltering revolutionary band. According to Bell, Begin devised the strategy that made Irgun a feared force and an important factor in the eventual decision of the British to abandon their attempts to govern Palestine. Begin, who had

studied the history of the IRA and the nonviolent movement in India, concluded that the role of the underground should be to "humiliate the authorities," forcing them to take the kind of repressive measures that would discredit the British not only in Palestine but with their allies. Begin's Irgun would give the British the choice between bloody repression or withdrawal, counting on the fact that the British would not be able to sustain a long-term policy of repression.

Begin's strategy was successful. Although Irgun often alienated the moderate "orthodox" Zionists, who regarded Irgun and its allies as extremists, the revolt begun by Begin was a crucial factor in establishing the conditions under which the regular Zionists could assume power in 1948.

When Ben-Gurion and the orthodox Zionists became the leaders of the new state, Begin rapidly slipped from his influential position, in large measure because he chose to do so. Once the state of Israel had declared its independence, Begin committed Irgun to a policy of dissolution and recognition of the legitimacy of the Ben-Gurion regime. As Bell points out, this was by no means a foregone conclusion. By 1948 Irgun had good reasons to distrust the orthodox Zionists who had, at times, cooperated with the British in antiterrorist campaigns against Irgun and who, as late as 1948, fired on and destroyed the Irgun ship *Altalena*. (Ben-Gurion feared that if the Irgun ship landed its cargo of arms he would be unable to control them.) Ben-Gurion "wanted no accommodation with

the dissidents." Yet, despite this provocation, Begin refused the temptation to launch a civil war.

In Bell's opinion, mainstream histories of the founding of the state of Israel have played down the role of the underground groups, emphasizing how acts of terror alienated world opinion. As a result, the leader of Irgun was not well-known outside his own country. Now, as Prime Minister, he has moved to center stage. From his background in Irgun it is clear that he is a hard fighter and a strong nationalist. It is also clear, that he is a realist and, in the context of Israeli-Arab relations, where there is no ideal solution, a realist is a valuable asset.

—Arthur Zilversmit  
*Arthur Zilversmit teaches American history at Lake Forest College, Ill.*



# Pot Happy



Linda Blair being arrested for possession of marijuana in Connecticut December 21.

**W**ASHINGTON—“When the President of the United States has the same position on decriminalization of marijuana that we do, I wonder whether maybe we should be getting a little further out in front,” Keith Stroup, the articulate young lawyer who founded NORML, the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, five years ago, told the group’s sixth national conference here in mid-December.

In fact, not only does Jimmy Carter support reducing possession penalties to a traffic-ticket type infraction, but so do many federal bureaucrats who are hostile to its use on health or social grounds. As Dr. Robert L. DuPont, director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse, put it awhile back, “There is now a very broad consensus in the U.S. that marijuana use should be discouraged and that the government’s role is to discourage marijuana use. But...most people agree that it does not make sense to put people in prison for the possession of small amounts of marijuana.” He thinks a \$25 fine is appropriate.

“Decriminalization,” however has gotten to be kind of a scare word that induces a contentious attitude. “That’s probably the biggest problem we have right now,” DuPont added.

Dr. Peter Bourne, Carter’s Special Assistant for Mental Health and Drug Abuse, points out the difference between decriminalization and legalization. “People have erroneously concluded we are asking that marijuana be made legal. We certainly are not doing that.” California governor Jerry Brown has made similar comments, and even NORML recommends no more than a study of legalization.

Nevertheless, decriminalization has gained a solid foothold in American drug policy. In ten states (California, Oregon,

Alaska, Maine, Colorado, Ohio, Minnesota, North Carolina, New York and Mississippi) possession of small amounts of grass is no longer punishable by prison terms. In other jurisdictions, police leave people alone.

The recent addition of Mississippi to the roster shows that decriminalization can become credible even in a very conservative legislative body.

NORML staffers reported that they are hopeful that a federal decriminalization law will be part of the new criminal code act, and that grass will be “rescheduled” by the feds from its Schedule One of very dangerous drugs to the less restricted Schedule Two. This change would mainly affect the availability of marijuana to researchers and medical patients. (NORML has assembled testimonials that marijuana relieves the discomforts of their asthma, cancer, multiple sclerosis and glaucoma.)

## Arrests still numerous.

But the total of marijuana arrests is still enormous: 441,000 last year, just a hair under the all-time high of 445,600 in 1974. NORML’s newsletter, *The Leaflet*, points out that these are 72 percent of total drug arrests and more than the combined arrests for homicide, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault.

Arrests continue to result in stiff fines and long sentences. One victim, Roger Davis, a young black from Virginia, was sentenced to 40 years and \$20,000 in fines for selling two ounces of marijuana to a police agent.

NORML attorneys got Davis out of jail after three and a half years. They won a round in federal district court when the judge ruled that Davis’ sentence constituted cruel and unusual punishment. The attorney for the Commonwealth of Virginia, however, pointed out that Davis could have gotten another 40 years and

\$20,000 more in fines under state law (40 years for each ounce) and has appealed.

NORML’s Future Directions Committee, which reported to the conference on strategy options, argued against NORML’s turning its attention to the outright legalization of marijuana or other drugs such as cocaine because “the majority of the public continues to believe that marijuana is addictive, highly toxic, and leads to the use of other drugs.” In such an atmosphere, the committee concluded, the fight for decriminalization should still be a priority.

“Responsibility” and “credibility” are key words for NORML; so much so that it is at the front of the line of people urging caution and care in marijuana use: don’t drive or operate complex machinery while stoned, its literature warns. And a conference pro-dope expert, Dr. Robert Carr, added in a lengthy defense of the relatively benign character of cannabis use that pregnant women should also avoid it and that “There is growing evidence that marijuana smoke may have adverse effects on pulmonary function.”

## Pie in the eye.

Conference organizers were mortified when a quiet panel on international control of marijuana was disrupted by YIPPIE guerilla Aron Kay, who tried to throw a pie in the face of panelist Joseph Nellis, chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Drug Abuse and Control. Kay missed his target when his aim was deflected by a NORML staffer.

A handful of YIPPIES, for whom pie-throwing has become a major tactic, circulated through conference sessions, distributing copies of their newspaper, the *Yipster Times*. The *Times* condemns decriminalization as a fraud: “What have we gained but a MAC (Marijuana Abuse Court) that is merely a replica of traffic court, where innocent people plead and

pay to avoid the tedious and pointless process of rubber stamp injustice.”

The YIPPIES’ disheveled and militant air contrasted with the prosperous appearance and low-key attitudes of the majority of conferees. The majority showed the most excitement over slides of huge fields of cultivated cannabis in Mexico and elsewhere.

They applauded loudly when a reporter for *High Times*, Craig Copetas, told them that during the recent Lebanese civil war, “when there was no food and no medical supplies, there was still plenty of hash,” partly because renegade army colonels had taken to guarding their chosen valleys with diverted Russian tanks.

They cheered again when Copetas asserted that Colombia had exported \$1.5 billion worth of grass last year, compared with only \$1 billion worth of coffee. “The Latin American governments are all going to be with us because of the value of the exports.”

One cynic was heard to ask whether this meant that the 1981 NORML conference would feature a keynote address by Chile’s General Pinochet. When asked if the association of marijuana with the support of repressive Latin governments bothered him, Copetas declared, “I’m just a reporter, man. I’ll tell you what’s happening but I don’t make any judgments.”

Marijuana has already become a full-fledged part of the American economy. The issues of *Head* and *High Times* magazines, which were widely hyped at the gathering, proved that. Both publications are slick and thick with ads for every conceivable kind of pot paraphernalia.

These magazines and their ads are proof that widespread marijuana use is no threat to the spirit of free enterprise that has made America great. If anything,

*Continued on page 20.*

“Responsibility” and “credibility” are key words for NORML; so much so that it is at the front of the line in urging caution and care in marijuana use.